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Soviet Union

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Commentaries View U.S. Tactical Nuclear Arms Stand

'Step Backward'

LD1705055289 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1737 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 16 May Vladimir Bogachev, TASS military affairs observer, writes:

Washington's intention to try and modernize at any price its tactical nuclear missiles in Western Europe while simultaneously refusing to hold talks on short-range nuclear weapons marks, I believe, is a step backward by the new U.S. Administration from the approaches toward arms control problems which have come about in the past few years.

The United States' new course is a deviation from the "double decisions" principle previously adopted by NATO. Even during implementation of U.S. military programs in Europe, this principle did not rule out the possibility of talks with the Soviet Union on limiting and reducing weapons being deployed. If the U.S. Administration is lucky, the NATO "double decision" can stop being "double," if Washington will only rearm, declining to hold talks.

Also, prior to 1989 fundamental difference existed between the Soviet Union and the United States on the question of nuclear testing. The USSR has been advocating and is still advocating its complete cessation under effective verification. The United States has claimed that it will be possible to ban nuclear tests only after eliminating nuclear weapons themselves. Such differences in position did not prevent the two countries from beginning talks on tests and even achieving a considerable rapprochement of their positions.

No less serious differences exist regarding the militarization of space. However, the previous U.S. Administration nevertheless found it possible to start talks with the Soviet Union on weapon systems in space.

The situation in the world has changed substantially. Agreement on the elimination of medium- and short-range nuclear missiles was reached and is being successfully implemented. Showing goodwill, the Soviet Union has implemented a range of unilateral actions to reduce its armed forces. Moscow has put forward a large-scale plan to reduce conventional weapons and equalize the numbers of troops of the two confronting military alliance at a considerable lower level than now. It has been announced that 500 warheads of tactical nuclear weapons will be withdrawn this year from the territory of countries allied with the USSR.

Why is Washington so frightened of negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons? Washington's official spokesmen—and London's, too, by the way—constantly state that the start of negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons would lead inevitably to their elimination, and that, they

claim, would undermine the NATO strategy of "flexible response." However, it is hard to believe that the United States would go along with an agreement that did not suit it, even in the event that negotiations were to begin.

The point, evidently, is that the United States is now facing a decision—whether to continue with the policy based on strength or to change to a policy based on common sense. A transition to new thinking in foreign policy is apparently a hard task for the new U.S. Administration. The way the problem of tactical nuclear weapons is solved will be an important indicator of the choice made by Washington.

Response to Soviet Initiative 'Outdated'

LD1505185489 Moscow World Service in English
1610 GMT 15 May 89

[Yuri Solton commentary]

[Text] Yuri Solton examines the Western reaction to the Soviet initiative for tactical nuclear arms in Europe.

When Mikhail Gorbachev met with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Moscow, the Soviet leader said this country was unilaterally withdrawing 500 tactical nuclear warheads from allied nations in Eastern Europe. He said the Soviet Union was ready to rid Eastern Europe of all its nuclear arms if the United States did the same. And he said the Warsaw Treaty Organization's proposal to immediately negotiate a gradual abolition of tactical nuclear arms in Europe had remained in force.

Most West European nations, including some of the NATO countries, see the Soviet initiative as both a far-reaching step toward safeguarding European security and the new political thinking in action. Both officials and representatives of the public admit this, but although the administration in Washington keep saying the new Soviet thinking must be tested again and again, American (?papers) believe it wasn't at all happy about one more Soviet initiative. Washington said no; so did London.

What are Washington's arguments? It claims the Soviet Union holds superiority in both conventional arms and (?tactical) nuclear missiles. Even if we are to believe (?this), nothing would remain of superiority of this kind, when Eastern Europe would be rid of Soviet nuclear weapons and conventional arms asymmetries were removed. Warsaw Treaty and NATO representatives are discussing this in Vienna. As Washington, in tandem with London, is brainwashing the NATO allies that believe action on the American plans to modernize (?tactical) arms must be postponed, it has come up with one more argument. It claims it would be wrong to give up weapons that have preserved peace in Europe for 40 years. But the Soviet Union, on its part, might as well claim that all these years' peace in Europe has hinged on 40,000 Soviet tanks. A doctrine of this kind does not suit

this country. Why, then, is the United States clutching at the outdated nuclear deterrent strategy and stereotypes that clash with new realities?

Tactical nuclear arms are the least controllable. They can, to a greater extent than the strategic, spark off a nuclear conflict. So it's much better to sit down at the negotiating table at the socialist nations' proposal to decide if Europe needs these weapons.

Pentagon Report on Radar, Treaty Violations Refuted
LD1605191889 Moscow TASS in English 1858 GMT
16 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

THE WASHINGTON POST published an article by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak who assert with a reference to the Pentagon's report that the USSR has not complied with its promise to dismantle a radar station in the area of Gomel. 17 months back, the United States interpreted the existence of that "radar" as a violation of the ABM Treaty. The authors of the article write that last March, two "inspectors" sent to the site of the station by officials of the U.S. National Security Council allegedly reported that three concrete operations for dismantling, to which Soviet representatives agreed, are not being performed.

This writer learned from the competent Soviet military circles that this information distorts reality. The actual state of things is as follows. Some elements from two dismantled radars were brought into the areas of Gomel and Moscow. These elements were meant to be used in the national economy, which does not run counter to the ABM Treaty.

But in view of the fact that the appearance of these elements of radars in the areas of Gomel and Moscow caused concern of the U.S. side, the Soviet Government, in the interests of consolidating the ABM Treaty, expressed the readiness to take a constructive step and

destroy them. The procedure of fulfilling this promise was worked out by the Soviet side and reported to U.S. officials who confirmed the correctness of the understanding of the envisaged measures.

The Soviet Union invited U.S. experts so that they could see on the spot that all the planned measures are fulfilled in full volume. The experts visited the USSR and were shown everything they wanted to see. No critical remarks came from them. What is more, in the period of time that has passed since that, U.S. official agencies have not made any complaints, either.

Thus, as follows from the explanations of representatives of the USSR Defense Ministry, the entire course of events shows that the so-called question of radars in the area of Gomel, as well as of Moscow, should be closed by both sides. The present assertions about the Soviet Union's failure to comply with its obligations, reported by THE WASHINGTON POST, actually mean that the USSR has not carried out some work over and above what has been envisaged by the plan. This interpretation of the essence of the matter cannot but cause perplexity.

What is more, if the authors of the article are to be believed, the Pentagon has made a demarche which should be interpreted in the Soviet Union as the failure of the U.S. side to comply with its obligations. For back in December 1988, representatives of the USA declared that if the work envisaged by the Soviet plan is carried out, Washington will be satisfied and its anxiety will be allayed. And now the Pentagon goes beyond the frame of what was discussed earlier.

The question arises who and for what purpose needed to raise the matter of Soviet radars again? Apparently those who do not like the resumption of the Soviet-American dialogue, who are against constructive interaction in the solution of arising problems, who fear the elimination of mutual distrust between the USSR and the USA. It is precisely they that try to convince the public that the Soviet Union should not be trusted and should be regarded as a menace to the United States security.

Perfilyev Holds Foreign Ministry Briefing 16 May

Comments on Mauritania-Senegal Relations

LD1605141189 Moscow TASS in English 1327 GMT
16 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—The current tensions in Senegalese-Mauritanian relations generate a sense of profound concern in the Soviet Union, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the ministry's information directorate, said that "these developments do not meet the true interests of the two neighbouring states but lead them away from the solution of complex social and economic problems."

"We back the Organisation of African Unity's efforts to find an adequate solution to contradictions that have emerged in relations between Senegal and Mauritania in the spirit of good-neighbourliness and traditional friendship," Perfilyev said.

"A meeting of ministers from Senegal and Mauritania in Bamako could play a positive role in normalising relations," he added.

Discusses Bush's Texas A&M Speech

LD1605174589 Moscow TASS in English 1721 GMT
16 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—The Soviet Foreign Ministry's spokesman drew newsmen's attention to the positive assessment of the perestroika process in the Soviet Union, which President George Bush of the United States made in his address at Texas A and M University. The president spoke, among other things, about "enduring, ingrained economic and political change" taking place in the Soviet Union, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate told a briefing here today.

The U.S. leader also stressed the connection between the Soviet Union moving toward greater openness and democratization and the U.S. proclaiming its readiness to cooperate with the Soviet Union in addressing pressing global problems. The Soviet spokesman viewed as positive the U.S. readiness to resume Soviet-American negotiations on strategic nuclear forces in June and the U.S. intention to cooperate with the Soviet Union in some other fields voiced in the President's address.

Alongside with this, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out that the President's address contained "a sizable portion of such outdated views as the reliance on the positions of strength in the U.S. policy towards the Soviet Union and the desire to deploy the so-called advanced defenses when they are ready". Apparently,

Washington is not yet willing to fully discard the outdated concept of international relations based on the notorious "Soviet military threat" scare and some turns of phrase that sounded like sermonizing addressed to the Soviet Union, he said.

Notes Afghan Situation, Arctic Expedition

LD1605175289 Moscow TASS in English 1724 GMT
16 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman at a news briefing Tuesday noted the positive evaluation given by U.S. President George Bush to the process of perestroika in the USSR in his address at Texas A and M University.

Bush spoke about the importance of "enduring, ingrained economic and political change" in the Soviet Union and about links between the processes of democratisation and glasnost and the U.S. readiness to actively pursue a policy of cooperation with the USSR in solving global problems.

At the same time, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the Ministry's Information Directorate, told reporters that the President's speech was marked by "quite an amount of such outdated views as staking on force in relations with the Soviet Union and the desire to go on with the SDI programme."

"Apparently, Washington does not wish to fully renounce the old concept of international relations, which is based on the notorious idea of 'Soviet military threat', and expressions sounding like lecturing the Soviet Union," the spokesman said.

On the current tensions in Senegalese-Mauritanian relations, Perfilyev said that they generate a sense of profound concern in the Soviet Union.

He said that "these developments do not meet the true interests of the two neighbouring countries but lead them away from the solution of complex social and economic problems."

On May 15, one year after the Geneva accords on Afghanistan went into force, Kabul newspapers said that the Afghan Foreign Ministry had sent 494 notes to UNGOMAP (THE United Nations Good Offices Mission for Afghanistan and Pakistan), citing 3,977 cases of Pakistan's violations of these accords, Perfilyev said.

Rebels have been rocketing Kabul for three days now, killing and injuring civilians, including women and children. They also rocketed the Kabul international airport as planes, which delivered flour from the Soviet Union, were landing and taking off.

The first Soviet-U.S. icewalk expedition across the Bering Strait has come to an end in the Alaskan village of Kotzebue. Twelve Soviet and American explorers participated in the two-month surface-crossing.

Perfil'yev said that the expedition "has once again shown how near our two countries are in that area and how much the two peoples want direct people-to-people contacts and stronger friendship and mutual understanding between them."

'International Situation' Program on PRC Relations
LD1205184489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0930 GMT 12 May 89

["International Situation—Questions and Answers" program presented by Igor Surguchev, all-union radio foreign political commentator, with Mikhail Ivanovich Yakovlev, TASS political observer and specialist on China; "my colleague" Vladimir Pasko; commentator Aleksey Malekov; and "my colleague" Yuriy Isayev]

[Excerpt] [Surguchev] Hello, respected comrades. On 15 May the official visit of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the PRC begins. It is difficult to overrate the significance of this visit to the neighboring great power and the largest socialist country in Asia. The first Soviet-Sino summit meeting in 30 years will take place. On one hand, this reminds one of the long absence of normal relations between our countries, the bitter period of alienation, and even reminds one of hostility. On the other hand, it emphasizes the historical nature of the visit of Comrade Gorbachev, which is to mark the full normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. Both sides consider the necessary prerequisites for this have recently been met. By all accounts it is not only the normalization of interstate relations which is being discussed, but also that of interparty relations. Both in Moscow and in Beijing it is being emphasized that the Soviet-Sino summit meeting will be a significant turning point in the relations of both countries and the further consolidation of positive tendencies in the current international situation. It is called upon to lay a firm foundation for the strengthening of the good-neighborliness and the cooperation of our countries and is responding to the interests of the Soviet and the Chinese peoples and the peoples of the whole world. It is proposed that the Soviet-Sino summit meeting will work out the principles of the relations between the Soviet Union and China and will precisely define the directions of their future development. As the elder Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping noted, an important task now stands before the Soviet Union and China: to finish with the past and open up the future. Taking part in our broadcast is Mikhail Ivanovich Yakovlev, TASS political observer and specialist on China, whom I will ask to answer a number of listeners' questions. (Vasily Dmitriyevich Anat'yev) from the town of Orel quotes in his letter the Chinese journal LIAOWANG on the fact that Sino-Soviet relations cannot return to their previous state, that is to their state in the fifties. How should this be understood, the author of the letters asks? Further, he

worked as a military adviser in the PRC, he describes the relations between our country and China in the fifties as a real and unselfish friendship. What could you say about this Mikhail Ivanovich?

[Yakovlev] Why can there not be a return to the relations of the fifties? As is well known, the relations between the Soviet Union and China in the fifties were those of allies, at the base of which lay the Treaty on Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance. The alliance between the two countries was the product of specific historical conditions. The relations of that period were full of unforgettable and very important examples of genuinely friendly cooperation. However, at that time contradictions were already present in the relations of the allies. Factors of instability, as Chinese authors are now writing, were operating, which consequently led to a break. Now, in the new historical conditions, there may be no return to the relations of allies in the fifties, and there is no need for this. During the fifties, the USSR and the PRC were singled out by a community of strategic interests, and the necessity of withstanding pressure from U.S. imperialism. From the end of the seventies the situation changed radically. China was recognized by the overwhelming majority of states, acquired its own nuclear weapons, and took up its place at the UN Security Council. Gradually the fears that any power was capable of belittling China's interests by strategic combinations or seriously threatening its security have faded. The Chinese leadership has taken the road toward autonomy and independence in its foreign policies, as seen in its refusal to participate in military and political blocs or establish allied relationships with any of the great powers. On the other hand, restructuring in the Soviet Union has brought about very serious changes in Soviet foreign policy.

Guaranteeing the establishment of conditions for the internal reforms, the strengthening of anti-spending measures in foreign and military policies, and the policy of political settlement existing conflicts taking the balance of interests of the interested parties into account and the transition from the striving to maintain military and strategic parity with all opposing forces to a doctrine of defensive sufficiency has become the main aim of the international activity of the Soviet Union. These and other factors clearly define the lack of interest of both sides in the restoration of a military-political alliance like that which existed in the fifties.

[Surguchev] Mikhail Ivanovich, pensioner Balika from Krasnodarsk Kray—unfortunately she did not indicate her first name and patronymic or a more exact address—expresses anxiety in connection with the fact that schemes exist, as she writes to trust the clearing of our Tayga or to our Chinese comrades. Will it not turn out, Comrade Balika worries, so that after their clearing the Tayga will suffer and will animals will not remain in it? I think our listener has not quite understood something here.

[Yakovlev] This fear is, of course, without foundation. Something else is being discussed. With the full normalization of Soviet-Sino relations, traditional, trade, and economic links between our two countries will receive a new impetus as well as with the development of new forms of these links. The development of such links for the Soviet Union is dictated above all by the necessity of opening up the regions of Siberia and the Far East and the huge need in these regions for light industry goods, food stuffs, the creation of a modern infrastructure and the development of production to meet the needs of the day about which Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke in his speeches at Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk. In China there is also a great need for economic cooperation with the Soviet Union especially in the Central regions of the country. It can be supposed that the share of direct production and trade links between various, above all, contiguous regions of the two countries will grow. The current state of Soviet-Sino trade and economic cooperation gives grounds to suppose that border trade will develop, as will the part China plays in opening up the Soviet Far East, using such forms as the creation of joint enterprises and China's provision for manpower.

If we ourselves manage our nature and our wealth carefully—looking after them and putting them to intelligent use, rather than causing harm to the natural world and not least the Tayga—then cooperation with China can only be beneficial.

[Surguchev] Our post also contains questions about China's relations with third countries. For example, Grigoriy Sergeyevich Latyshev from the village of Korsakovo, Orel Oblast, asks about the current state of relations between the PRC and India. Nikolay Vasilyevich Kabanov, our listener from the town of Bogdanovich, Sverdlovsk Oblast, considers that the Soviet media keeps quiet about the complications in China's relations with Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea. What can you say about this?

[Yakovlev] As is known, Sino-Indian relations deteriorated at the end of the 1950s and in 1962 there was even a military conflict. There are several reasons but I think that the main one is the border issue and, to a certain extent, the presence of the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan refugees in India. As is shown by the time and the facts, the solving of this border problem is a rather complicated process, however in recent years signs of positive changes have appeared. Both China and India come out for the solution of all differences between the two countries, including the border issue, on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. China notes that by applying joint efforts it is possible to achieve a just solution to questions of the Sino-Indian border.

Of great importance for the solution of disputed questions was the recent visit to China by Rajiv Gandhi. An accord exists for a visit to India by Li Peng, premier of the PRC state council. All of this inspires hope regarding achieving soon a rational settlement of disputed questions, improvement in the development of bilateral, good-neighbourly and friendly relations in the spirit of the ideas of the new political thinking.

[Surguchev] Now, Mikhail Ivanovich, could you please say a few words about China's relations with Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea?

[Yakovlev] Our press has recently been writing a lot about relations between the PRC and the countries of Indochina. The main issue in the normalization of the PRC's relations with them and primarily with Vietnam, in the opinion of the Chinese side, is the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea even though Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea have precisely and clearly stated their decision to withdraw, by the end of September this year, all Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. The PRC press frequently expresses doubts about the sincerity of this decision. But here too, as the saying goes, the ice has begun to move. Signs have emerged that contacts are being made between the PRC and the SRV. In January this year for the first time in 9 years deputy foreign ministers of the two countries met at the negotiating table in Beijing to hold consultations on the Kampuchean question. They also discussed questions of the preparations for the forthcoming meeting of the foreign ministers of China and Vietnam and examined problems of the normalization of relations between them.

There is no doubt that the forthcoming Soviet-Sino summit meeting will also have an influence on the solution of that question. The USSR and China have an interest in the rapid, just, and rational solution to the Kampuchean conflict. The USSR welcomes the direct Chinese-Vietnamese contacts, which facilitate the search for a constructive political solution of the Kampuchean problem. Vietnam and Kampuchea intend to conduct matters toward this aim.

In conclusion, there is no doubt that the Soviet-Sino summit meeting will have a beneficial effect on the development of Soviet-Sino relations, on the solution of regional conflict in Southeast Asia and on the situation throughout Asia and throughout the world. [passage omitted: Surguchev comments on the efficacy of the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan; Pasko tells of the prospects for further CEMA cooperation; Surguchev details Syria's position on recognition of a Palestinian state; Malekov replies to a listener's question about why India allows foreign monopolies to operate in the country; Isayev describes Venezuela; Surguchev gives historical report on the Great Wall]

China

Gorbachev's 17 May Speech at Great Hall of People *LD1705052289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0120 GMT 17 May 89*

[Speech by M.S. Gorbachev at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on 17 May—live]

[Text] [applause as Gorbachev takes the floor] Esteemed comrades and friends, I am meeting you virtually immediately after the first Soviet-Chinese summit meeting in the last 30 years. All day yesterday, I and my colleagues present here were engaged in talks with Comrades Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, and Li Peng. The previous day there was a conversation with Comrade Yang Shangkun. We thoroughly discussed issues of principle and prospects for the development of relations between the Soviet Union and the PRC and exchanged opinions on problems of world politics. Of course, we still must comprehensively interpret the wide circle of ideas, various points of view, and proposals that arose and were put forward in the course of the discussions. But we can already say that we are satisfied with the results of the talks. First of all, there is agreement that relations of good-neighborliness and equal and mutually useful cooperation are in keeping with the long-term interests of the Soviet and Chinese people. The accords that have been reached create a solid political basis for the development of such relations in accordance with generally recognized principles of international law.

The chronicle of Russian-Chinese, and subsequently Soviet-Chinese relations has left us a great and ambivalent legacy. We believe that blank spots should not be left in it, that there should be an objective and impartial appraisal of all its episodes, including the most complex. But if we approach our relations on a large, historical scale, then there cannot be any doubt that the positive basis in them exceeds by many times the mistrust and conflicts that took place. The economic and cultural links between our countries and the contacts between the outstanding and original civilizations created by our peoples have given a great deal to each of them. In the minds and hearts of millions of people on both sides of the Soviet-Chinese border, genuine interest in one another has never faded, and deep mutual liking never died down. Of course the social kinship of the two resulting from the greatest revolutions of our century—1917 in Russia and 1949 in China—was of particular significance. The high manifestations of solidarity of the working class and the working people, who had embarked on the path of constructing a new life, will not be wiped out of the history book or from the memory of the living generations.

We are entitled to regard the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting as an important landmark. Behind us is a long period of mutual alienation. Before us is the future we are to form together.

But what do the lessons of the past teach us on the philosophical and political level? I suppose the first conclusion is that, unfortunately, it is easier to spoil, to break relations between countries than to build and strengthen them or make them fruitful. Two or three mistaken decisions that fail to take account of the interests of one's partner in an attempt to impose one's own point of view upon him; transferring mutual grievances to the next stages, right up to the political level; the elevation of ideological dispute and differences to the level of state confrontation—with the result being that a wall of suspicion and mistrust will arise between once friendly countries.

From this it is obvious how important it is to take care of good relations between countries, to augment and hand on from generation to generation this enormous national and international property. I would like to express my conviction that both the leaderships and citizens of our two countries will not permit a repetition of the mistakes that are subsequently so difficult to correct. But the main thing is that this lesson is learned by Soviet and Chinese young people on whom the future of our relations depends. Evidently, it would be worthwhile for all of us to think about what can be done so that the baton of normal, good relations between our peoples is handed on from generation to generation, especially since it is precisely the young people who are to continue and successfully complete the cause of renewing socialist society, which has been begun by the veterans.

Another conclusion is the need to take an understanding attitude to differences in each other's policies and way of operating. Of course, the Soviet Union and China have their own approaches to particular problems and to the evaluation of occurrences. This should not be seen as a stumbling block to cooperation. The only sensible approach is striving to search for acceptable solutions with mutual respect for views and positions. This is precisely how our countries approached the current significant meeting, and each of us went his part of the way.

Another consideration is that Soviet-Chinese relations do not exist in isolation. They are an inalienable part of a complex and diverse set of international links. They can be truly durable and fruitful for both countries if they are made part of the international system in an organized fashion and are in line with the spirit of the positive changes taking place in it today.

From the very start, my talks with the leaders of the PRC were permeated with the idea that the improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations is not directed against anyone and requires neither from China nor from the Soviet Union a renunciation of the links that have taken shape with third countries—socialist or capitalist, developed or developing, Western or Eastern. Moreover, normal Soviet-Chinese relations are in keeping with the interests of the whole world community and are in keeping with the leading trends of contemporary world development.

Now I shall talk about how the prospects for their development look. A deepening of mutual understanding and trust enables our countries to concentrate more fully on peaceful, creative labor and to augment their material and intellectual resources to resolve their own problems in conditions of reliably guaranteed and stable peace.

Over the past years both sides have taken measures to reduce the level of military confrontation along the Soviet-Chinese frontier. As you know, since 1985 we have cut our Armed Forces in the Far East and have unilaterally made a pledge not to increase our ground- and air-based nuclear weapons. In line with the Soviet-U.S. accord, 436 intermediate and shorter range missiles in the eastern part of the USSR will be destroyed. In 1989-1990 Soviet troops deployed here will decrease by 200,000, including by 120,000 in the Far East. I can tell you that ground troops are being cut by 12 divisions, 11 air force regiments are being disbanded, and 16 combat ships are being decommissioned from the Far Eastern Fleet. In May we embarked upon the latest reduction of troops in Mongolia. During 1989-90 three full divisions will be withdrawn, including two tank divisions and the entire Air Force group.

A structural reorganization [perestroika] of our troops deployed along the Soviet-Chinese frontier has begun so they will totally comply with the principle of reasonable defensive sufficiency.

We are prepared to work toward withdrawing military subunits and armaments from border areas on a basis agreed with China and leaving only the personnel necessary to carry out normal border duties. The demilitarization of Soviet-Chinese borders and their transformation into a border of peace and goodneighborliness is a good aim attainable through joint efforts.

A wide field for mutual cooperation is opening in the main sphere of human activity—our economies. In recent years bilateral trade has increased, but both its volume and dynamics are far from matching the possibilities that exist. Soviet-Chinese trade turnover—which has not even reached 2 billion rubles—appears meager against the background of the integrating processes of deepening the international division of labor and the rapid expansion of cooperative links. What is involved, after all, are countries with gigantic resources, and, moreover, neighbors that have the longest border in the world and thus possess exceptionally favorable conditions for cooperation. The possibilities for economic interaction here are, perhaps, several orders higher than those that now exist. Of course, these possibilities cannot be made a reality just like that, despite all the desire on both sides. It is necessary to define the promising spheres, resolve the complex issues of pricing, and help enterprises find appropriate partners. Time is needed to train cadres and accumulate experience that was in many respects lost in the years when our economic relations were effectively curtailed.

Yet, without setting ourselves unrealistic tasks, it would seem that even in the near future we can ensure substantial growth in Soviet-Chinese economic ties in the interests of both countries, and, moreover, in such traditional spheres as the exchange of raw-material and industrial goods, assistance in the creation of power-generating capacities, and in spheres that are the most modern, in current terms, the spheres of developing and applying advanced technologies.

If one talks about forms of cooperation, then in addition to expanding trade, one could take matters as far as direct ties between enterprises, design bureaus, and scientific research institutes, and creating joint firms and production units, including with the participation of third countries.

In preparing for this trip to Beijing, our specialists thought that one highly effective sphere for Soviet-Chinese cooperation could be the construction of pipelines for transporting lines...[changes thought], for transporting liquid coal. This is, incidentally, a very promising area for the development of modern power engineering which is attracting attention all over the world. The joint development of a new Silk Road from China to Europe via the main Beijing-Urumchi-Alma Ata-Moscow railway line, an important sector of which will be finished in the next few years, is promising. A serious reserve for the development of business ties could be offered by cooperation between regions, placed on a long-term basis, between the krais and oblasts of the Soviet Far East and Siberia and the provinces of northeast China, and between Kazakhstan and the Soviet Central Asian republics and the provinces and autonomous regions of northwest China.

We are also looking at the expansion and deepening of Soviet-Chinese trade and economic ties from the point of view of the all-Asian process of economic integration taking shape. The Chinese experience of an open economic policy is being analyzed in our country with great attention, and the question of organizing joint enterprise zones, including in a number of regions bordering the PRC, is now being examined. Many eminent figures from Chinese science and culture, as well as representatives of the Soviet scientific and artistic intelligentsia accompanying us, are present in this hall. I think their mission is to promote mutual understanding between peoples. This mission is especially important at the present time, when the Soviet Union and China are, as it were, discovering and getting to know each other anew. Contacts and joint research by scientists from the Soviet Union and China promise to be very beneficial. The academies of sciences of the USSR and the PRC recently signed an agreement on main areas of cooperation. I am convinced that by cooperating in their efforts, scientists will be able to substantially increase their contribution to the acceleration of our countries' socioeconomic development.

In the cultural sphere we have the truly invaluable capital asset of intellectual contact at our disposal. This is, above all, the tradition of exchange in the sphere of literature and art. Lu Xun, who is widely known and highly respected in our country, wrote: I feel that some link exists between China and Russia; their culture and history have something in common. We value the efforts of contemporary Chinese men of letters and translators who make works of Russian and Soviet literature accessible to Chinese readers. There is great interest in China's original and ancient culture in our country, the Soviet Union. Exhibitions of Chinese art in Moscow museums and the Leningrad Hermitage are becoming constant. Traditional Chinese medicine enjoys popularity. The 40-volume library of Chinese literature met with a warm welcome among Soviet readers when published in the USSR.

Contacts between the publics—between workers in culture, art, and science, and wide-scale contact between people—help make our relations more full-blooded and, no less important, open and democratic.

Opportunities for mutually useful cooperation are now also opening up in such a sphere as the exchange of experience on economic, social, and sociopolitical reforms. China set about radical economic reforms earlier than the USSR. We are following their implementation with great sympathy. Respect is engendered for the courage of the party and people who have set about profoundly transforming the social mechanism with the aim of modernizing an immense country with a difficult heritage of many centuries of isolation and semicolonial backwardness. We know both of the important achievements on this path and about the difficulties you are facing. In a sincere and friendly way we wish you, comrades, confident progress toward your main goal—the transformation of the PRC into a developed, contemporary socialist society.

In general, the state and potential of a country should not be judged only by how much is produced and consumed per capita or how it appears in comparison with the world leaders. No less important is in what direction it is developing, and which way, figuratively speaking, the road is being laid for further development.

As far as difficulties are concerned, they are natural in such a complex matter as the creation of a new social system. We know that well from our own experience. The economic and scientific-technical potential of our country and its social achievements are generally known. However, the rates and quality of our growth began to fall in the seventies. And analysis showed that what was involved here was not personal shortcomings and errors, although this, too, played a negative role. The main reason was the defects of a command-bureaucratic system which developed in our country at the end of the twenties and beginning of the thirties.

Only by dismantling this system and completely rehabilitating the Leninist ideas and principles of socialism was it possible to lead the country out of stagnation and avert the imminent crisis. That is how the idea of revolutionary restructuring was born. I am now speaking about this on the basis of the knowledge and experience we have accumulated in the 4 years since the April 1985 Central Committee plenum. Yet the actual comprehension of these realities did not come right away. The party and people came toward their moment of truth gradually, as if climbing steps.

We began by setting the task of strengthening elementary discipline—labor, production, and financial discipline. But it very soon became apparent that you won't achieve much by these measures alone. Things can only really move ahead if the alienation of the workers from property is overcome, if they become the full-fledged masters at their works or factory, collective or state farm, institute or scientific laboratory. Life itself brought us to the conclusion that a radical reform of our whole economic system is needed: transfer of enterprises to full financial autonomy, self-financing and self-management, creation of conditions for the development of the cooperative sector, the wide use of commodity and monetary levels.

In restructuring the managing of the economy, establishment of the optimal correlation between the powers of the center and the localities is of particular significance. We have adopted a course toward resolutely raising the economic independence of the union republics and broadening the economic possibilities of the local soviets, with simultaneous growth in their responsibility for satisfying the needs of the population. Of course, it is not a matter of weakening the coordinating and regulating functions of the central organs. Without this, not a single modern state can successfully develop.

Another acute point on the agenda is the problem of overcoming levelling tendencies, of consistently implementing the socialist principle of distribution according to one's labor. Highly productive, quality labor, competence, and skill must be properly rewarded. At the same time, we consider it essential to strengthen the social security of Soviet man, to guarantee a minimum living standard for every working man.

Soon after a number of laws were adopted providing for the transition to the new conditions of running the economy, it became clear that the economic reform would not work if it were not underpinned by radical transformation of the political system. The working people will really feel themselves co-owners of the national wealth if they can influence managerial decisions and take part in the election of leaders at various levels, if we are able to organically combine socialism with democracy. This is the main conclusion drawn at the 19th party conference last summer, and in less than a year we have conducted the first really democratic elections in many decades.

You probably know, comrades, that in Moscow in a week's time the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, which is to form a new Supreme Soviet and government, will gather to determine the main guidelines for the internal and foreign policy of the Soviet state for the coming period, and, essentially, to breathe new life into the work of the our whole state mechanism. Tasks of no less importance must be resolved at the next stage of the political reform, in the interests of harmonizing interethnic relations. The formula for development of the Soviet federation, which has found universal support, is a strong center, strong republics. In deepening the democratism of our political system in every way, we proceed from the view that this also presupposes enhancement of the responsibility of all members of society for its healthy development and sociopolitical stability. Without this, the normal progress of reforms is unthinkable. This is why we attach great significance to strengthening legality and law and order and creating all the other conditions for formation of a socialist law-governed state. I would not be telling the truth if I said that all these reforms are proceeding smoothly and without difficulties, for what are the dialectics of this process?

The social mechanisms being created are called upon to guarantee due account of the interests of all sectors of society, the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the union and autonomous republics, the numerous nations inhabiting our country. But these mechanisms have not yet taken final form; they have not yet begun to work at their full capacity. And in the meantime, thanks to glasnost and pluralism of opinions, problems have been laid bare that have been building up for decades without a solution, while people's hopes often outstrip the pace of reform.

We are not dramatizing the situation, we are taking an understanding attitude to the legitimate desire of the working people to feel the fruits of the changes as soon as possible. We are striving as far as possible to accelerate the restructuring of all aspects of state and social life. But one must reckon with the fact that processes in society, as in nature, have their natural duration in time. No matter how much we want to, one cannot do in a year what needs 3 or 4 years with the greatest effort. It is well known how dearly it costs to try to put history into a gallop. But neither can one leave things to drift, either in politics or in the economy. When the mechanism is tuned, it will operate of itself, but a great deal of work is needed to set it in motion. In a word, what is essential is a well thought-out and balanced strategy of reforms, and the role of the party acquires particular significance in this situation. The CPSU has taken on the role of the initiator of restructuring.

It did not fear a decisive and uncompromising revelation of the deformations of socialism that had been committed in the past. It worked out and presented to the public the concept of radical reforms of the economic and

political system, and is today the sole, integrating force capable of bringing the cause of the renewal of socialism in our country to a successful conclusion.

In restructuring itself, the party is simultaneously restructuring its relations with the state on the basis of Leninist principles and revealing itself ever more fully as the political vanguard of society.

To conclude what I am telling you about our affairs, I want to stress that the whole concept of restructuring is founded on faithfulness to the socialist choice made by the people in October 1917. It is no secret that in the West—where there is tremendous interest in our restructuring as there is in the reforms in China and in similar processes in other socialist countries—the question is being debated of to what extent these processes are a development of socialism and to what extent they are a retreat from it. Some do not hide their hope that the introduction of financially autonomous relations and of the market, of glasnost and democracy, will lead if not to the restoration of capitalism, then to some sort of mixed form of social organization. Such calculations arise from the mistaken idea that economic levers and democracy are allegedly the exclusive attribute of capitalism. In actual fact, they are simply forms of regulating social relations worked out by mankind over the course of the many centuries of its development. They can be used in different social, in various social systems, taking into account, of course, their specific particularities. We are convinced that under socialism an organic combination of economic and political democracy, of a person's protection and freedom, can and will be ensured. It is precisely at the achievement of this aim that all our work on renewing society is aimed.

I will touch on yet another principled question connected to restructuring. We regard this process as our national one, and do not intend in any way to foist it on anyone else. It was precisely the foisting or copying of one model—and certainly not an irreproachable one at that—that in the past was the cause of many complications in the development of world socialism. We have learned that lesson well, and we build our relations with all other socialist states on the basis of complete respect for their independence and sovereign right to choose the forms and methods of their social development. It is also by this that our party is guided in its relations with communist and worker's parties; on just such a strictly equal basis have we and our Chinese comrades agreed to develop the links between the CPSU and the CPC.

At the moment, in a number of socialist countries processes are underway that are close to our restructuring in their content and sometimes in their form as well. This serves only as one more argument in favor of exchanging experience more actively, of learning from each other, of taking in what is best in world socialist practice in a creative way and, on the other hand, of avoiding a repetition of mistakes.

Restructuring in the USSR, reforms in China, and the transformations in many other socialist countries are dissipating once and for all the erroneous conceptions of socialism as something uniform and unchanging. They show its ability for progressive development and self improvement. The 20th Century has shown plainly how difficult it turned out to be to realize mankind's dream for a better future. The construction of a new society is now setting us more complex tasks than were conceived of in the 19th century, when socialism was only just changing from a utopian idea to a science.

Now, however, we have been enriched by the invaluable experience of practice. As it overcomes illusions and frees itself from dogmas and deformations, socialism is now, at the end of the century, undergoing a process of comprehensive renewal. The noble and inspiring goal is to enrich a social system that is inherently progressive with all the achievements of world civilization in the sphere of economics and culture, science and technology, politics and law.

Esteemed comrades, the process of renewing socialism is taking place against a background of historic changes of a worldwide nature. Mankind, which has from time immemorial considered itself immortal, has for the first time come up against the problem of survival. The very right to life has acquired new meaning and has become a problem requiring a global solution. One cannot hide from the typhoon of nuclear war behind the fences of one's borders, and one cannot preserve the purity of the air, guard against AIDS, or make oneself secure against terrorism by acting only within national boundaries.

A general formula naturally arises out of these statements that are obvious to everyone: In the modern interdependent world, nationally-restricted and isolated development is no longer possible. The survival of mankind and the progress of the civilization it has created can only be the fruit of joint creation by all countries and peoples. The question arises, however, of how this is combined with another powerful trend in contemporary social development toward the assertion of each people's national awareness and their indisputable right to freely choose its own path. The world is becoming integrated and is, figuratively speaking, shrinking. At the same time, it is becoming more multifaceted and, as it were, it is expanding. Herein lies one of the real contradictions of our age. It cannot be ignored, and it would be extremely dangerous to attempt to remove this contradiction by force, by imposing some social system or other on peoples or by dictating to them a rule of behavior developed by some kind of conclave of great powers. No, the Gordian knots of our time cannot be cut; they must be carefully unravelled.

In the present multidimensional world, there is only one way of resolving real contradictions: balances of interests on the basis of equal partnerships. The politicians and diplomats have perhaps never before had to solve tasks

this complex; what is involved, after all, is the interests of more than 150 states which, moreover, belong to different phases of development, according to the world clock of history.

It seems to us, however, that no other way exists. A truly stable system of interdependence, which is so necessary in the modern world, can be arrived at only through a consensus of genuinely independent countries. I think this is felt particularly acutely in the immense Asia-Pacific region. This is a place where different social systems meet; it is a junction of different epochs. The traditions of the most ancient civilizations live side-by-side with technological breakthroughs of the 21st century.

In Asia there are a considerable number of hotbeds of military tension that are capable of flaring up at any moment. At the same time, it was right here that in their day Zhou Enlai and Jawaharlal Nehru formulated the Panchasila principles. The combination of the traditional Indian concept of nonviolence and the ancient Chinese philosophical idea of humanity—Zen—proved harmonious with the strivings and concerns of the modern world. It is probably no exaggeration to say that the very geography and history of this continent, where the majority of the planet's population live and heterogeneous forces operate, have found themselves in the role of a kind of gigantic crucible. The processes taking place in it will largely predetermine the fate of all mankind. Can these processes be regarded from the view that different systems, ideologies, and civilizations are incompatible a priori, and that conflict among them is predetermined? I think that such an approach would be destructive. We are convinced that there is a real possibility and necessity of finding a common denominator for the heterogeneous interests and stands that exist here. This requires, above all, that any impulses toward hegemonism and pressure are overcome, and that any interference in internal affairs is ruled out.

Can any state assume the role of guarantor of strategic, socioeconomic, and political security in Asia and in the Pacific and Indian Ocean basins? Obviously not. Genuine security and stability can only be ensured through the efforts of all states present here. In Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk we made an appeal to jointly seek ways toward restructuring relations between the states in the Asia-Pacific region to prevent it from becoming an arena of dangerous military confrontation.

It was an invitation to think together about how to settle regional conflicts, set up a barrier to the proliferation of nuclear weapons, limit naval activities, reduce armed forces, and work out confidence-building measures.

It goes without saying that resolution of the common tasks depends to an immense extent on the state of bilateral relations between states. From this point of view, we attach great importance to the development of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and all

countries of the Asia-Pacific region. The normalization of Sino-Soviet relations is, undoubtedly, one of the biggest events of recent times. Our traditional cooperation with India has continued to strengthen. In international political and public circles, the declaration on a nuclear-free and nonviolent world signed by myself and Indian Prime Minister Gandhi has gained a broad response. We have been expanding our ties with the other states in the region with whom we had already established good relations. We have embarked on a more lively dialogue with those with whom we were merely maintaining polite diplomatic contacts. We have gone part of the way toward meeting those with whom we still have a deficiency of mutual understanding. This concerns Japan in particular. We regard this country with great respect, and we would like to have full-blooded ties with it, and I think that an objective possibility exists for this. Soviet-Japanese cooperation could provide a lot for both countries, and be a positive factor of no small importance for peace and development in Asia. Of late, the prerequisites for this have been building up, but both sides will still have to do a fair bit of work to put them into practice.

The changes that have taken place in Soviet-U.S. relations are well known. There is no need to offer proof that this is in line with the interests of the whole world community, and also opens up extra opportunities in the context of helping resolve vital problems in the Asia-Pacific region. U.S. President Bush and I have agreed to act in the spirit of continuity, consolidating the constructive things that we have managed to achieve so far. The recent talks in Moscow confirmed this mutual intent. We are in favor of the positive tendencies in the transition from confrontation to cooperation making their way and asserting themselves and dominating everywhere.

A large part of our Asia policy is our striving to assist in the elimination of existing conflicts and seats of tension here. Three months have already gone by since the Soviet Union withdrew its troops from Afghanistan. However, events in that country are taking a more and more threatening turn. One cannot call the attempts by the Pakistani military to begin, in essence, open aggression against a neighboring country anything but recklessness. We think that the time has come for the world community to take a more active position with regard to this conflict, which threatens to singe surrounding regions. One can view the existing regime in Afghanistan in various ways, but it is perfectly clear that the resolution of relations between the opposing sides, the Afghan sides, should be left to them. How Afghanistan should be, what kind of Afghanistan there should be—only its people have the right to decide that.

For the past 10 years now, one of the painful points on the Asian Continent has been the situation around Cambodia, and it is gratifying that we can now see the beginning of light at the end of the tunnel. Of course it would be unjustified to get ahead of ourselves. The

matter of a Cambodian settlement will require the application of still greater political and diplomatic efforts. But with the completion this September of the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, a qualitatively new situation arises: practical prerequisites are created for the chronic conflict to at last be resolved.

We discussed these questions with Cambodian and Vietnamese comrades, and yesterday with leaders of your country. The impression is forming that the Cambodian settlement is gradually acquiring a real outline. To talk about the main principle on which it can and should be based, it is the same, sole just principle of national self-determination. Only the Cambodians themselves can find a formula for agreement and for the country's future political system.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we are ready to take part in corresponding international guarantees and respect any choice made by the Cambodian people concerning Cambodia's course for independence, neutrality, and nonalignment.

I want once more to confirm our unvarying support for the efforts of the DPRK aimed at a peaceful, democratic unification of Korea. Obviously, this requires the removal of tension on the peninsula and the withdrawal of U.S. troops, the continued presence of which in this region for a long time now cannot be justified by any kind of argument. In the Asia-Pacific Ocean region, as yet there is no established structure for talks. There is no mechanism for regular multilateral consultations, and the question arises: Is it not time, with the efforts of all interested countries, with the support and assistance of the United Nations, to encourage what could be called all-Asiatic processes?

This idea does not yet meet everywhere with a positive response. In the opinion of some states, its time has not yet come. A favorable ground must be prepared, first and foremost, to extinguish the smoldering hotbeds of conflict here. But it seems to us that common efforts make it much simpler and easier to solve this task, which is very important for both Asia and the whole world. Incidentally, isn't that what is indicated by the prospects for a Cambodian settlement, which to a large extent is becoming possible because practically all the countries of the Asia-Pacific region—and not only them—are taking what part they can in it?

This is natural, because Asia is not isolated from other continents. Its links with them cover an ever-wider range, from economic exchanges to cultural blending. For our part, on account of the USSR's geographical position, we feel particularly sharply our involvement in Asian-European contacts. The bridges linking the civilizations of both continents pass, one might say, through both the area and the spiritual life of our country. And on the Eastern side the Pacific Ocean does not, these

days, divide Asia from America. On the contrary, it acts as a kind of connecting link. Because of this, the problems of Asian security, too, are an integral part of general, global security.

Along with the problem of peace, Asia and Africa are faced more urgently than ever with the problem of development. Extensive zones of hunger and poverty, illiteracy and epidemic diseases are concentrated on these continents. It is no secret to anyone that the reasons for the tragic situation of hundreds of millions of people are rooted in colonialism and neocolonialism, in the wide gap separating the developed and developing countries. And in spite of everything, of all the efforts made until now, this gap continues to grow, to a large extent under the influence of the gigantic debt strangling the debtor countries in a hangman's noose. It must be stressed that the gap exists not only in national per capita income, in the correlation of wealth and poverty, so to speak. No less worrying are the colossal differences in levels of technical development, for in essence this deprives those who are behind of the chance of catching up with those going on ahead. In this way it is as if the division into prosperous and underprivileged nations is made eternal. It seems to us essential to bring to the awareness of the whole world public, of every person, that this situation cannot continue. It is in essence equal to the nuclear and the ecological threat in its explosiveness.

So what might the approaches to this most pressing problem be? It seems essential to immediately reject extremes and unreal hopes for a redistribution of wealth and the establishment of a sort of leveling out internationally. And the calculations by the rich to sit snug in their citadels or buy off the poor with sops are just as groundless. The catastrophe, if it breaks, will affect everyone. The only just and reasonable solution must be sought by way of strengthening collective aid to development. A voluntary, international effort for the sake of solving pressing social problems is possible and essential on the basis of respect for the independence and the right of nations to self-determination. We support comprehensively the package of ideas put forward in this connection by the Nonaligned Movement. Recently many political movements have come out with similar useful initiatives. And, of course, for us communists, devoted to the idea of the international solidarity of peoples, participation in this noble affair is a question of conviction and duty.

Among other initiatives in favor of development, worthy of attention, in our view, is the idea of setting up a world bank of state-of-the-art technology, which would be built on the simple principle that all countries, and also companies, organizations, and individuals, would make voluntary contributions to it and again would be able, without charge or for a small payment, to use this treasury of knowledge and experience for development purposes. One cannot say that this idea is absolutely new. Plenty of various funds in the world now operate on

the same principle. But the point is to give this enterprise a global character. It seems that this idea fits in with the concept of the new international political order, on which we had a substantive conversation with the Chinese leaders.

Esteemed comrades! Reflecting on the complex problems of the contemporary world, you come to the conclusion that never before have the possibilities for the progress of civilization, for its breaking through to new heights, been so great. At the same time, never before has the threat of mankind sliding back, or even ceasing to exist been so serious. In this situation the greatest responsibility is required from all states and governments, political parties, and social movements in their decisions and actions. We are all simply obliged to use the available historic chance for the good of present and future generations. I would like to express the hope and confidence that, in this struggle for the future, the Soviet Union and the PRC will actively cooperate, that our countries will make a worthy contribution to the resolution of the world's problems. We wish success and prosperity to the friendly Chinese people, and happiness and well-being to every family. Thank you. [Applause]

Gorbachev Meets With Chinese Leaders 16 May

Exchanges Toasts With Deng at Luncheon

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[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Comrade Deng Xiaoping gave a luncheon today in honor of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

[Begin recording] [Deng in Mandarin, followed by Russian translation] To the health of Comrade Gorbachev! To the health of Raisa Maksimovna! To the health of all the Soviet comrades who are present here! To the normalization of relations between our two countries, to the normalization of relations between our two parties! Let us drain our glasses! [applause]

[Gorbachev] Esteemed Comrade Deng Xiaoping! Dear comrades and friends! I would like to take advantage of this fine atmosphere to say, on behalf of all our delegation, that in Beijing we have met with hospitality and a friendly disposition on the part of both the leadership of China and the working people, and this greatly gratifies all of us. Just now Comrade Deng Xiaoping and I shook hands in connection with the fact that the act of normalization of our relations has taken place. We have done this modestly, without superfluous fuss, but it seems to me that our peoples, the Soviet people and the Chinese people, and other peoples who are really concerned that the situation in the world should change for the better, will make a proper assessment of the significance of this moment. I would like to note the contribution of all those Chinese friends who are here at this table to the

fact that our relations have today reached a new stage in their development, and I would like to emphasize in particular the contribution of Comrade Deng Xiaoping. We have developed a very wide-ranging dialogue, a constructive dialogue, a responsible dialogue, an equitable dialogue, and this provides our relations both with the appropriate depth and a new aspect. I ask you to raise your glasses to our peoples, to the Soviet people, to the Chinese people, to the feeling of friendship that has been uniting us for a long time now. I am sure that, after the current visit, this friendship will gain in strength and put down even deeper roots, and generally, we all, it seems to me, will feel satisfaction from this. To friendship between our peoples! [applause] [video shows luncheon in progress, speeches being delivered] [end recording]

Holds Talks With Li Peng

PM1705100989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 May 89 Second Edition pp 1,2

[TASS report: "Talks With Li Peng"]

[Text] Beijing, 16 May—Talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng were held today.

The head of the Chinese Government gave a high appraisal of the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting which signifies the normalization of relations between the two neighbouring socialist states.

Indeed, Mikhail Gorbachev agreed, Soviet-Chinese relations are now entering a new stage. The context in which this is taking place is important. There is awareness in the world that the world community has reached the danger line. Socialist countries also face the problem of adaptation to the current realities. In a sense, the time has dictated to us its own demands, which should be taken into account and transformed into appropriate policy. We realize that both the Soviet Union and China need in an equal measure favourable external conditions to fulfill their plans. But things do not boil down to this. We, as everyone else, must reckon with the nuclear and ecological threat, with the problems stemming from the gap between economically developed and underdeveloped countries. At present, no one can or should avoid taking part in their solution. I don't think it will be overambitious to say that the world transformation cannot take place without the Soviet Union and China.

During the conversation the two sides expressed the common realization that Soviet-Chinese relations can successfully develop only on the basis of generally recognized, universal principles of peaceful coexistence. This is not a return to the relations of the 1950's, but a definite retreat from the confrontational situation in subsequent years. It is not something that is being artificially injected into Soviet-Chinese relations, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed. The scale of our countries,

their possibilities prompt the need for broad-based mutually advantageous links, for whose maintenance an appropriate mechanism is needed.

Li Peng, on his part, spoke about how China views changes that have taken place in the world. We need a stable political situation within the country, and a peaceful situation on the international arena, he said. This is necessary for solving the tasks of the country's modernization, which will take a long time. The concept of new political thinking advanced by the Soviet Union has been noted in this country. This concept singles out a number of aspects not advanced by the Soviet leadership in the past. As to the PRC, it has advanced the idea of a new international political order, an idea by which the PRC is guided in its international policy.

Discussion of specific questions of the development of Soviet-Chinese relations held an important place during the talks.

Further prospects of military detente were discussed in detail. Both sides expressed readiness to reduce forces stationed in the areas of the Soviet-Chinese border. It was agreed to form a working mechanism for negotiations for submitting proposals to the governments of the two countries.

Having examined the course and results achieved in the talks on border settlement, the interlocutors arrived at the conclusion that it is expedient to impart an added impetus to them and upgrade their level.

Both sides spoke about the expediency of widening economic, scientific and technological cooperation. It was stressed that it is desirable to put it on a long-term basis, and what is particularly important, to use new contemporary forms.

Metallurgy, power generation, transport, and manufacture of consumer goods were mentioned as priority areas.

Some specific ideas and proposals were advanced and an arrangement was reached to formulate them in the framework of the Soviet-Chinese commission on economic, commercial, scientific and technical cooperation.

Both sides agreed to promote the development of business ties between scientific establishments, cooperation in the areas of health services and public education, and exchanges in the sphere of culture.

On behalf of the Soviet leadership, M.S. Gorbachev invited Comrades Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Zhiyang, and Li Peng to pay an official visit to the USSR.

The meetings and talks in Beijing took place in a warm and amicable atmosphere. The following took part in them on the Soviet side: E.A. Shevardnadze, A.N. Yakovlev, Yu.D. Maslyukov, Ye.I. Chazov, G.Kh. Shakhnazarov, I.A. Rogachev, and O.A. Troyanovskiy. The following were present on the Chinese side: Li Xiannian, chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference All-China Committee; Yao Yilin, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee, deputy premier of the State Council, and chairman of the PRC State Planning Committee; Tian Jiyun, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and deputy premier of the PRC State Council; Wu Xueqian, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and deputy premier of the PRC State Council; Yan Mingfu, member of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat; Qian Qichen, PRC foreign minister; and Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the USSR.

Exchanges Greetings With Zhao Ziyang

LD1605183389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] [Announcer] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met in Beijing today with Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee.

[Begin recording] [Zhao in Mandarin with superimposed Russian translation] How did you rest yesterday evening?

[Gorbachev] I am already acclimatized, and by today I was ready to work.

[Zhao] Your program today is very full.

[Gorbachev] Speaking about this yesterday, I said that we have come from restructuring and, therefore, the load is a normal one within the framework of restructuring. We are going to work. And all the more so since such a major event is happening in our relations. I have brought you warm greetings from the whole leadership, from the party Central Committee.

[Zhao] Thank you very much. We, all the CPC Central Committee comrades, express warm greetings to you, Comrade Gorbachev, in connection with your visit to Beijing.

Your summit meeting with Comrade Deng Xiaoping this morning is the climax of your present visit to China. I would like to put it like this—that you and he, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, have accomplished the holding of a summit meeting, and this means the normalization of relations between our two parties. That is, relations between our two parties became normalized not now, but this morning.

[Gorbachev] I agree, the sooner the better. [end recording]

[Announcer] Continuing my account of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting with Zhao Ziyang, I would like to report that during this meeting, Comrade Zhao Ziyang stressed that Deng Xiaoping—beginning from the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, which took place in 1978—has been universally recognized, in China and abroad, as the leader [vozhd] of the CPC. All party members know that the party cannot do without his guidance, his wisdom, and experience. Zhao Ziyang noted that at the first CPC Central Committee Plenum, elected by the 13th congress, the official decision was adopted—although this has not yet been published—that on the most important questions Deng Xiaoping still had to be consulted as the helmsman. Zhao Ziyang assessed this decision as very important.

Meets With Zhao

PM1705095989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Conversation With Zhao Zhiyang"]

[Text] Beijing, 16 May—In the latter half of the day Mikhail Gorbachev conferred with Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Central Committee.

Welcoming the high Soviet guest on behalf of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, Zhao Ziyang said that starting today relations between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party can be considered normalized.

Our parties are ruling in their countries, and it stands to reason that contacts between them can play a great, useful role in strengthening good-neighbourliness and friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples.

Gorbachev emphasized that Soviet Communists have always displayed solidarity with the struggle of the CCP-led Chinese people for independence and development along the lines of socialism. The normalization of relations with Chinese Communists generates approval and support in our party.

In discussing the questions of how the links between the two parties should be developed, the interlocutors concurred that the principles of equality, mutual respect, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs should underlie them. No one can claim to have a monopoly on truth. Mutual information, the study of each other's experience, and comparing viewpoints and approaches to pressing issues of the development of Marxist theory and the practice of socialist construction will be useful.

The exchange of views on the forms and methods of socialist development was extremely intensive and substantive. It appeared that both sides are keenly interested

in transformations and reforms, which are being enacted now and are meant to enable socialism to reach a new peak and acquire a more modern and higher quality.

The interlocutors exchanged their appraisals of the results of transformations in the economy, the political system, and other spheres of society's life. At the same time, they spoke frankly about difficulties that have cropped up in the way of the reforms, the problems facing each of the countries and holding up the accomplishment of vital tasks. They pointed out the similarity of several processes related to reforms, and simultaneously their peculiarity generated by national characteristics and other factors. The sides voiced the common conviction that all problems can be tackled within the framework of the reforms.

We need a reform, Zhao Ziyang stressed. It highlights the advantages of socialism and returns an attractive force to it. This is the sole way toward the goal. Gorbachev shared this viewpoint and expressed the idea that the dogmatic view of socialism, the dogmatic view of the role of the party in building a new society has suffered a setback. The question is now formulated as follows: Socialism must be renewed, and its potential fully utilized in man's interests.

The two parties' leaders exchanged views on prospects for developing links. Sharing specific experience in party work was moved to the fore here. This can be achieved at the level of Central Committee departments, regional and factory party committees, and along the lines of social sciences scholars.

Zhao Ziyang gave a dinner in honour of Gorbachev and the persons accompanying him. Qiao Shi and Hu Qili, members of the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the CCP Central Committee, were present at the dinner.

[Moscow TASS in English at 1904 GMT on 16 May carries a similar report on the Gorbachev-Zhao meeting which adds: "The meetings and talks in Beijing passed in a warm and amiable atmosphere."]

Li Peng Meets Soviet Press on Gorbachev Talks
PM1705105789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Premier's Interview"]

[Text] Beijing, 16 May—"The just ended talks with Comrade Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders have passed successfully in an atmosphere of reciprocity, frankness, and friendship," Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng told Soviet journalists here today.

The head of the Chinese Government said the talks touched on international problems and questions of bilateral relations. The sides expressed converging or close views on the questions discussed. However, and this is quite natural, differences in opinions also

remained. The main thing was that the two sides frankly expressed various points of view, which helped them better understand each other.

The Soviet leaders have left a very good impression. They are frank, sincere people, who are resolved to develop Soviet-Chinese relations. They very well understand and assess the events that take place in the world.

There is no doubt that Deng Xiaoping's meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev has ushered in a new stage in the development of Soviet-Chinese relations, Li Peng continued. The Chinese leader characterized the relations between the two countries by eight characters, which translate into Russian as: "To close the past—to open the future." This means the normalization of relations between China and the Soviet Union, which in the future will develop in all areas. But these relations will differ from the allied relations, which existed in the 1950s, because the former relations neither meet the interests of the two countries nor the demands of time and history. We will build relations of friendship and good neighbourliness on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

The head of the Chinese Government expressed satisfaction with the Soviet readiness to pull out troops from Mongolia following consultations with the Mongolian Government. At the same time, he said, an issue of reducing Soviet and Chinese Armed Forces in the border region was raised. This question needs detailed discussion, but the main thing is that the two sides have expressed the wish to display a positive approach to its solution.

In conclusion, Li Peng stressed that the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations is not directed against any side. "China maintains good relations with the United States and thinks that the normalization of Chinese-Soviet relations is in step with the development of the modern world. I think that everyone who is in favor of peace and development will welcome the process of normalizing PRC-USSR relations."

Gorbachev 16-17 May Touring Activities Reported

Greets Beijing Residents
OW1705065089 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0100 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Beijing residents warmly received the Soviet leader. On 16 May after a meeting with Deng Xiaoping, on his way back to the place he is staying, Mikhail S. Gorbachev got out of his limousine and talked with Beijing residents who lined the street and shouted: Gorbachev! Gorbachev!

Gorbachev told them: I sincerely extend my best regards to you and convey to you the warm greetings of the Soviet people. Not long ago, I cordially shook hands with your state leader. In other words, the relations between our two countries are completely normalized.

To this news, the people happily cheered, shouting: Good!

Cheered by Beijing Residents

*LD1605185889 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 1700 GMT 16 May 89*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The trips around Beijing today were short—to the Great Hall of the People from the residence and back again. [Video shows Gorbachev coming down steps, followed by Raisa, and then both of them entering a car. A motorcade is then shown moving along a wide and otherwise deserted street.] But stops did occur even during this brief journey, and Beijing residents greeted the distinguished visitors. [Video shows cars stopped in the midst of a crowd. Gorbachev shown moving through the crowd, flanked by police and security men, who sometimes appear in disarray. People in the crowd nearest the visitors shown applauding warmly.]

[Begin Gorbachev recording in Russian] [video shows Gorbachev standing by car speaking] Here's what I want to say to you. [Chinese interpreter translates for crowd; crowd applauds] I...(?Quiet, please). I greet you all sincerely and bring greetings from the Soviet Union. [Mandarin translation greeted by shouts and applause from crowd] I've just been shaking hands with your leadership and saying that our relations have been completely normalized. [Mandarin translation followed by cheers from crowd.] [end recording]

Tours China's Great Wall

*LD1705105489 Moscow TASS in English 1028 GMT
17 May 89*

[Text] Beijing May 17 TASS—By TASS special correspondents: The programme of the Soviet leader's stay in the People's Republic of China (PRC) is extensive, busy, and versatile. It also allots time to acquaintance with China's history, culture and art. This is seen here as evidence of the profound respect the Soviet people harbour toward the Chinese people.

Today, Mikhail Gorbachev, his wife and the accompanying Soviet officials visited the Great Chinese Wall. It ranks first on the list of ten sights of China. Thousands of visitors—residents of Beijing and those who came from other provinces and cities of China—wholeheartedly welcomed the Soviet leader. Gorbachev and the persons accompanying him together with Beijing Mayor Chen Xitong, climb the observation platform where a guide

tells the high Soviet guests about the history of the wall's construction and its role in defending China's frontiers. Gorbachev shows keen interest in these facts and asks questions.

In touring the ancient monument, Gorbachev stops near a group of young Chinese and a lively talk begins among them. His interlocutors—residents of Beijing, employees of a tourist company—say that they welcome the Soviet leader's visit to their country. Gorbachev noted that important talks were held in Beijing. "We told each other that the past is behind and now we should look only forward and together." The Chinese said that it was their wish and their dream as well.

"I would very much like our youth to keep the traditions of friendship, which were laid down by elder generations. I told about this today in my speech—we should build on this tradition and further it," the Soviet guest said.

The opinion of his interlocutors is unequivocal: "We should have done this long ago." Gorbachev said: "Yes, certainly, but I think this has taught us a lot." His young interlocutors described this development of relations as a "new beginning." In their view, following normalisation, relations between China and The Soviet Union will be improving.

The Soviet leader told about his talks with Deng Xiaoping, Li Peng and Zhao Ziyang. "Our talk concerned the economy, how our parties will cooperate and how will youth cooperate," he stressed. "We believe that the tradition shall be revived, that Chinese young people come to study in the Soviet Union. There are many people in our country, too, who are willing to come to China, to study culture and the Chinese language. A good deal can be done here. Our opportunities are immense." "It will be nice," said one of the participants in the talk.

"I think this is how it will be," Gorbachev went on. "This is not fantasy. I am engaged in real politics, let others tell fairy tales."

"Raisa Maksimovna and I are glad to see you and believe that both the Soviet and Chinese youth will carry on the cause and accomplish more than we have done," he said.

The talk concerned not only politics. Speaking to a young man, a cook, Gorbachev appreciated the skill of Chinese culinary specialists. "Chinese food is very good. I think that it is the best in the world," he said.

Gorbachev 15 May Airport Greeting, Summit Viewed
*PM1605113789 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 16 May 89 p 1*

[Special correspondent A. Zaytsev dispatch: "The First Word Was 'Comrade'"]

[Text] Beijing—Correspondents who have flocked here from all over the world assembled on the tarmac at the capital's Shoudu Airport 30 minutes prior to the arrival

of the Il-62 aircraft bringing M.S. Gorbachev. About 1,200 correspondents have been accredited with the PRC Foreign Ministry Press Department to cover the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting. Old hands from the Beijing press corps cannot remember any influx in such numbers in the past.

No matter how accustomed they might be to the ritual of welcoming heads of state, worked out and scheduled down to the minute, they tensely watched every single detail associated with Gorbachev's arrival in Beijing. After all, no Soviet leader of such rank had set foot on Chinese soil for over 30 years. What would the first minutes of his stay here produce?

And our tension was rewarded. The word "tongzhi"—comrade—was heard in the report by the honor guard commander and was immediately passed on from mouth to mouth. This is exactly how he addressed Gorbachev.

Contrary to the program, PRC President Yang Shangkun welcomed the Soviet leader not at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing, as previously announced, but at the airport. This departure from the program reflected the complex situation prevailing in the city over the last few days due to the student demonstrations.

In a conversation with the capital's workers on Sunday, Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, announced that the Soviet-Chinese meeting is an important event. It will be watched by the whole world since its success would accord with the interests of the USSR and PRC peoples and would promote universal peace and stability. Every patriotically inclined and soberminded citizen, he said, must apply all efforts to maintain China's prestige and not commit actions capable of hindering or damaging the meeting.

An historic visit, the main event of the year—this is how it will be assessed by many, and this will be no exaggeration, if the two countries' role and importance in world politics is borne in mind.

The Japanese press has invaded the Chinese capital in maybe the greatest strength. HOKKAIDO SHIMBUN correspondent Kenre Yamaya [name as transliterated] left his Moscow office specially to cover the visit.

"I would not be surprised," he said in a brief conversation with me, "if a new political term were to emerge these days—'Gorbachev's Beijing initiative'—to carry on from his Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk programs for the Asia-Pacific region. Japan's inhabitants are especially interested in the results of the meeting. After all, we live right next door to U.S. military bases and are in the center of Soviet-U.S. confrontation in Asia. I hope Gorbachev's statements will produce reasonable proposals to reduce the level of confrontation."

"I have been carefully watching the evolution of Soviet-Chinese relations in recent times," ASAHI correspondent Niichizuma-san [name as transliterated], who has also arrived from Moscow, remarked. "Their transition to a fundamentally new state should occur during the visit. This will have a major effect on the situation in Asia and the world and, of course, I cannot fail to witness such a momentous event."

Yes, as both sides admit nowadays in Beijing, this is essentially a matter of not just the full normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, but also of their revival on a qualitatively new basis. It is expected that the summit talks will certainly be a turning point. No one expects that there will be a return to the standards of the past and the alliance pledges of the fifties. But there will be no senseless confrontation and ideological clashes as there were in the sixties and seventies, either. Both sides are expressing readiness to guarantee the normal and steady development of bilateral ties on the basis of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality and noninterference, mutual trust, good neighborliness, and cooperation—in other words, the development of relations on the basis of healthy pragmatism in the spirit of the new thinking. This is indeed the spirit that imbues the talks now underway in Beijing.

Gorbachev PRC Visit 'Going According to Plan'
PM1605164089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 May 89 First Edition pp 1, 4

[Dispatch by PRAVDA special correspondent V. Ovchinnikov: "A Day of Businesslike Contacts"]

[Text] Beijing, 16 May—The wreath-laying ceremony did not take place. But what is much more important is that the normalization of Chinese-Soviet relations is a fact and the meeting between the two countries' top leaders has taken place. The business part of the visit is going according to plan.

This is more or less the answer we give to foreign colleagues whose questions more often than not relate to attendant circumstances rather than the substance of the landmark event taking place before our very eyes in Beijing. The ceremony at the Monument to the People's Heroes was not held because the student actions in Tiananmen Square are still going on. In fact, the demonstrations resumed today with renewed force. Traffic was almost at a standstill in the center of the capital. I think that in their efforts to take advantage of the occasion to pressure the government, the students have lost the support of many former sympathizers. The people of Beijing regret that the Soviet guest was unable to pay homage to the memory of those who perished in the Chinese people's anti-imperialist, liberation struggle.

A vertical stone slab in the center of Tiananmen Square bears the inscription: "Eternal glory to the national heroes who have given their lives in the people's liberation struggle and people's revolution over the past 30

years. Remember always the national heroes who have given their lives in many battles against external and internal enemies and for national independence and the people's prosperity since 1840."

These brief words set out the main milestones in China's recent history. They are illustrated by bas-reliefs decorating the monument's plinth. The one that looks toward the gates of Tiananmen depicts the crossing of the Yangtze by the People's Liberation Army—one of the heroic episodes in the civil war. The bas-relief on the opposite side of the monument concerns the "May 4th Movement" of 1919. Finally, the theme of the bas-relief on the eastern side is the first "opium" war of 1840, which marked the start of the attempted colonial enslavement of China.

The Russian Bolsheviks resolutely and invariably condemned imperialist intrigues against China and tsarism's involvement in them. Lenin's ISKRA voiced support for the Chinese people. The feelings of international solidarity were mutual. When the October Revolution took place there were around 100,000 Chinese in Russia, mainly working as unskilled laborers in railroad construction. Some of them went home to tell the truth about the events they had witnessed. Many thousands participated in the civil war, taking up arms to defend Soviet power. Entire Chinese regiments fought against White Guards and interventionists. A fighter in one of them—Ren Dongcheng—died a hero's death in Siberia in 1918.

A portrait of this Red Army soldier in his fur cap with a red star decorates his son's house in Beijing Dingying Alley. On the opposite wall hangs a picture of Lenin's meeting with the Chinese internationalist's widow 2 years after his death. Ren Dongliang, then a 13-year-old boy, now a well known engineer and professor, sits next to Ilich on the sofa in his Kremlin office. Last year he and his wife and son were invited to the USSR and planted a fir tree at his father's grave.

"The history of relations between our peoples has passed through three generations of our family," Ren Gongwei, grandson of the Red Army soldier buried at Vyva station in Siberia, said. "My grandfather fought for the power of the Soviets, against Kolchak. My father joined Soviet specialists in constructing the country's first automobile plant in Changchun, and now I am engaged in border trade and often go to Khabarovsk."

Not long ago this house was visited by the daughter of the Soviet airman Kulishenko, who is well known in China. In the thirties he and his comrades defended the then-capital against raids by Japanese bombers, and he died a hero's death, keeping control of his burning aircraft until the last moment, to avoid hitting one of the many villages along the Yangtze.

Ren Dongliang told his neighbors about yesterday's meeting of Chinese-Soviet Friendship Society activists with R.M. Gorbachev, in which he took part.

As soon as the Soviet leader's visit was announced, Ren Dongliang decided to invite him to his home, in order to present him with a calligraphic picture: three characters denoting the term "new political thinking." In reply to the veteran's letter, M.S. Gorbachev sent him a photograph with a personal dedicatory inscription.

"I regard this great honor not only as a sign of attentiveness toward me," Ren Dongliang said. "In the struggle against internal counterrevolution and imperialist intervention, our peoples supported each other. Their traditional friendship is sealed with the blood of fallen heroes, and this must always be remembered. The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations meets the vital interests of neighboring socialist states and serves the cause of universal peace. Therefore, we are sincerely pleased at Gorbachev's arrival and we trust the summit meeting will be successful."

The second day of the Soviet leader's official visit to China could be called a day of talks. True, the Chinese side describes the three items on today's program in different ways: a meeting with Deng Xiaoping, talks with Li Peng, a conversation with Zhao Ziyang. The first event in this classification is a summit meeting, the second an exchange of opinions on bilateral problems, and the third a resumption of interparty relations.

At 1000 hours Central Television interrupted its first channel programs to transmit a live broadcast of the start of M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with Deng Xiaoping. The two leaders met in the center of a big hall and exchanged handshakes. I thought: In just the same way our countries have moved toward each other, and each of them has traveled its share of the distance to make normalization possible. Red flags—one with a hammer and sickle, the other with five stars—frame a picture in the classical style. It shows green pines, which, in Chinese art, represent eternal youth, and white cranes, symbolizing long life. According to Chinese traditions, to seat a guest in front of such a picture is to express best wishes to him.

Chinese television viewers witnessed the first 15 minutes of the meeting between the two states' leaders. According to Deng Xiaoping, he was originally prompted to raise the question of such a meeting by one of Gorbachev's speeches. For many years the "cold war" atmosphere could not be softened and the arms race did not end. But then the Vladivostok speech showed that Soviet policy is acquiring new content, a breakthrough is possible in American-Soviet relations, and a turn from confrontation to detente has begun.

After his meeting with Deng Xiaoping, M.S. Gorbachev held talks with Li Peng, premier of the State Council, and then talked with Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of

the CPC Central Committee. The meeting between the two general secretaries heralded the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations at party level.

How do people in China assess this event? What is the view of the 48 million Chinese Communists? What specifically could the content of CPSU-CPC interparty ties be? Comrade Tang Benrui, chief editor of the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO, answered these questions of mine. He said that in its international relations the CPC is guided by four principles enshrined in its statutes. They are independence and autonomy, full equality, mutual respect, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. These principles of relations apply identically to the ruling parties of socialist countries and to communists waging the struggle under the conditions of the capitalist system.

"The absence for many years of any contacts between the world's two biggest communist parties was, of course, unnatural. Party ties were also broken off with Eastern Europe, but later they were gradually restored. The normalization of CPC-CPSU relations is indeed a long-awaited event," Tang Benrui said. "After all, the Communists in the two neighboring countries are resolving similar tasks in the renewal of socialism. And they are encountering similar difficulties. Now it will be possible to far more effectively exchange experience in all spheres of party work, from the role of Communists in the restructuring process and the improvement of the political system, to a question that is topical for all of us: demarcation of the functions of party and state organs. Within the framework of interparty ties, it would also be useful to exchange the results of theoretical research into problems of present-day socialism.

"Of course, in order to satisfy the tremendous interest in Soviet restructuring among the Chinese public and Communists, RENMIN RIBAO was publishing many items on the USSR even before normalization. But from now on the coverage of Soviet life, and especially the CPSU's activity, will be raised to a far higher level. In order to cope with this task RENMIN RIBAO needs the opportunity to have its own correspondent in Moscow as soon as possible. PRAVDA, as far as I know, also has an interest in having correspondents in Beijing. Contacts between the leadership of our newspapers have already resumed in practice. And I hope that from now on they will assume the nature of fruitful, professional cooperation. For instance, we could usefully exchange experience on a question like the role of the press in the conditions of restructuring and reforms," Tang Benrui concluded.

Normalization of USSR-PRC Ties Now 'Fact'
PM1605184789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 May 89 Morning Edition p 1

[V. Kobyshev and Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "Day 2. IZVESTIYA Special Correspondents Report From Beijing"]

[Text] The second and clearly the main day of the Soviet leader's visit to the PRC began with a meeting between

M.S. Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping in the Chinese National People's Congress (NPC) building.

This building on the vast central Tiananmen Square proved to be almost impossible to reach for the legions of journalists. The numerous passes differing in color and title that had been issued to us at first seemed powerless in the face of the seething mass of humanity in the colossal square and adjoining areas. Many thousands of students, and not only students (among others we saw columns of staffers of the PRC Academy of Social Sciences and of the RENMIN RIBAO editorial office) had gone to the square, where massive demonstrations demanding that the process of democratization in the country be accelerated have been under way for several days.

It was not the passes that helped us, but the good will and sympathy of people, including personnel of the security services, who are vested with a serious responsibility. They acted efficiently and did everything possible to help us in our work.

Eventually all of us journalists, photographers, and so forth crowded onto the red carpet leading into the one of the NPC's halls where it was planned to hold the meeting and talks on which, without exaggeration, the attention of the whole world is now riveted. We realized we were present at an event on which a great deal in the world today would depend.

...At precisely 1000 hours the television lights came on, illuminating M.S. Gorbachev and the persons accompanying him, who were walking a few paces behind him. At the same moment the doors of the hall where the talks were to be held opened and Deng Xiaoping came out. Smiling, the Soviet and Chinese leaders walked toward each other, then held out their hands and clasped them in a firm handshake, which they continued for a long time. They both displayed visible emotion, and it was clear to everyone present that this was a handshake not only between the Soviet and Chinese leaders but between the peoples of the two great socialist powers. We had all—both Soviet people, our Chinese friends, and the peoples of other countries—been awaiting this hour for a long time. Now it had come.

While the talks are under way between M.S. Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping, let us return to the events of the past day.

All newspapers report the start of M.S. Gorbachev's visit as an event of historic importance in China's domestic and international life. Here are a few newspaper headlines. RENMIN RIBAO: "First Visit by Top Soviet Leader to China in the Last 30 Years." JINGJI RIBAO: "New Stage Begins in Relations Between China and USSR." GUANGMING RIBAO: "Normalization of Relations Accords With Both Countries' Vital Interests."

Newspapers carry a report on M.S. Gorbachev's conversation with PRC President Yang Shangkun and the full texts of their speeches at the dinner in honor of the Soviet guest. The RENMIN RIBAO report particularly highlights M.S. Gorbachev's remark that the Soviet Union and China showed courage and farsightedness and made a contribution to improving bilateral relations.

The conversation between M.S. Gorbachev and Yang Shangkun, so it seems to us and so observers here think, determined the landmarks of the subsequent talks. It is striking that even the first meeting found many coinciding positions, made an assessment of the past, and expressed the wish: We should not rake it up and recall bygones, it is far more promising to look to the future. As for Soviet-Chinese relations, they must be developed step by step.

Despite the period of complex relations between our countries, the two countries' peoples preserved their friendship, and, that being so, we must carry out our peoples' will—those words of M.S. Gorbachev's aroused sincere understanding here.

The heightened interest in assessments of the past among our Western journalist colleagues is understandable. After all, the period of abnormal relations between our countries still attracts attention. The dispute was fierce during those years. Is a peaceful path of development of the socialist revolution possible, has the nature of socialism changed? Western observers produced fat volumes and broke lances. One wonders why.

Now times have changed. Let historians decide who bears what proportion of the blame, politicians must look to the future. The Soviet and Chinese leaders are unanimous on that point. But when we speak of unity of positions, we by no means intend to draw a veil over the differing approaches. As the political weekly LIAOWANG notes today, "it is bad when contradictions are concealed, as in the fifties, and it is even worse when they develop into confrontation, as in the sixties." "This meeting," the weekly writes, "must greatly improve the atmosphere and lay a firm foundation for the further development of friendly relations."

We have just received XINHUA's official report on the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping, the first meeting between Chinese and Soviet leaders in 30 years. This historic meeting marks the normalization of relations between the two countries, XINHUA states.

The agency reports that Deng Xiaoping began the conversation with Mikhail Gorbachev by asking how he feels in Beijing. Gorbachev replied that everything is okay, he feels fine. Then the Chinese leader recalled that 3 years ago he sent a message to the Soviet leader setting out the conditions for the normalization of relations

between the two countries. M.S. Gorbachev confirmed that he remembers the message and said that it was noted and, as it now transpires, was useful.

XINHUA also reports that during the talks Deng Xiaoping asked M.S. Gorbachev: "Can we now consider that there is complete normalization in our relations—inter-state and party?" When the Soviet leader answered with an emphatic "yes," everyone in the hall simultaneously burst into applause.

As we are transmitting this dispatch M.S. Gorbachev is meeting with State Council Premier Li Peng. The next meeting will be with CPC Central Committee General Secretary Zhao Ziyang.

All the commentaries of international observers, numerous commentators, and Chinese officials are unanimous in their main assessment. The complete normalization of relations between the USSR and the PRC is now a fact.

'Friendly Balance' in PRC-USSR Ties Seen

LD1605223489 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 16 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] So a difficult day, but a happy one. In the life of a politician, even the most successful ones, there are probably few such days encountered. So what has been done? What have we achieved here in Beijing center today? Normal relations have been established by the two parties, two powers, and two great peoples. With every handshake between the eminent parties it is as if yet another chapter of the almost 30 years of mutual coldness, hostility and, at times, enmity, has receded forever into the past. It has been quite businesslike, without any special loud words, but at last a friendly balance has been achieved in relations: That golden mean on which the Chinese philosopher Confucius may have reflected in the quiet of just such a park. The people's will has been carried out: They have long wanted cooperation and not competition, people who together account for almost one third of humanity. [video shows Gorbachev walking with a group of unidentified men in the grounds of a house. They approach a group of men awaiting them, including Shevardnadze and Yakovlev.].

'Tremendous Potential' Seen for USSR-PRC Ties

PM1705131189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 17 May 89 First Edition p 3

[Captain 1st Rank V. Kuzar dispatch: "Opening Up the Future. Our Special Correspondent Reports From the PRC"]

[Text] Beijing, 15 May—"When I first saw reports in the press about Comrade Gorbachev's visit to our country, I was beside myself with joy. After all, the traditions of friendship between the Chinese and the Soviet peoples

have deep roots. When I was little, I thought, for instance, that there were no other countries on the planet besides China and the USSR. We sang Soviet songs, and we wore Soviet clothes. Then came a black period. The restoration of our relations is unequivocally welcomed by the Chinese people." I recalled these words of Zhou Quxiang, to whom I had spoken a few days earlier, as I was making my way across Tiananmen Square to the National People's Congress building. The first working meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who has arrived in China on an official visit, and PRC President Yang Shangkun was to take place here.

The square was seething. A sea of people was surging back and forth. Striking groups of students stood out in it like icebergs. Some of them had been in the square since Saturday. They sported colorful slogans: "Democracy Is Our Common Aim"; "Long Live the Power of the Law, Not Bureaucracy"; "We Will Fight to the End"; "We Demand Genuine Dialogue"; and others. The government has shown patience and restraint, it has met with representatives of the students and is conducting a dialogue with them. It has been repeatedly stated officially that the demands for democracy and a deepening of reforms and also the struggle against corruption and embezzlement are in line with the government's intentions.

However, this is not the Chinese people's main concern today. The people in Tiananmen Square are expressing support for the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China. Most of the slogans are devoted to this theme. This is what the inhabitants of Beijing are talking about. And the Chinese press today is expressing the same hopes. "We ardently welcome Gorbachev's visit and wish him success. May this historic summit justify the great hopes placed in it by both the Soviet and the Chinese peoples and the international community as a whole," the journal BEIJING REVIEW writes, for instance.

...The Hall of Hebei Province in the National People's Congress building: Comrades M.S. Gorbachev and Yang Shangkun enter. In the glare of electronic flashes, the assembled journalists try to record this meeting. Thanks to television, millions of people in various parts of the planet are able to watch it. The Soviet-Chinese talks open.

The Soviet-Chinese summit talks have triggered a tremendous reaction in the world. The summit is being covered by more than 1,000 journalists from many countries. How do they assess this event? I put this question to Akiro Komoto, correspondent of Japan's TOKYO SHIMBUN: "Personally, I welcome the visit of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the PRC. I believe that it will not only result in the complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, but will also have a stabilizing effect on the situation in Asia and the Pacific region.

I would go even further: The visit will initiate a new era in our region. Skeptics will have to acknowledge the effectiveness of the Soviet Union's Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk proposals."

A new era.... Strong words, perhaps. However, what we heard on the 1st day of the visit indicates that these words are quite justified. After all, it was no accident when PRC President Yang Shangkun, speaking at the dinner in honor of M.S. Gorbachev, emphasized: "The Chinese and the Soviet peoples and the international community are attentively following our meetings, the meetings between the leaders of our two countries. I am sure that they hope to see Sino-Soviet relations of a new type on a sound basis which would benefit our peoples and also contribute to peace and stability throughout the world. I am also confident that, with the help of joint efforts by our two sides, we will certainly justify the hopes of the peoples of China, the Soviet Union, and other countries in the world."

In his reply speech, M.S. Gorbachev set out the approach toward the development of Soviet-Chinese relations via three affirmations, making use of political terminology traditional for China: "We say our first 'yes' to generally recognized principles of international relations such as mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, nonaggression and noninterference in internal affairs, equality, mutual advantage, and peaceful coexistence.

"We say 'yes' to economic and cultural cooperation and active political dialogue at all levels and in all spheres, including the state and the social sphere. We are convinced that such cooperation will benefit both peoples and help them to be more successful in attaining the impressive goals which they have set themselves.

"And finally we say 'yes' to collaboration between our countries in solving topical international problems. The Soviet Union and China are, of course, independent in decisionmaking, each has its own priorities, and our viewpoints do not always coincide. However, there is a broad field where such collaboration is possible and expedient. This applies above all to our joint contribution to the solution of the global problems of the present time and the strengthening of peace and security on the continent of Asia."

The ideas expressed in the speech of Yang Shangkun, and the ideas formulated by M.S. Gorbachev testify to the tremendous potential of Soviet-Chinese collaboration. The example set by our two countries may prompt other countries in the region to expand their dialogue for the sake of peace, security, and mutually advantageous and equitable cooperation. We very much want to hope that the development of mutual relations in Asia and the Pacific Region will take this course. It is precisely to this end that intensive work has started today in the Chinese capital.

Gorbachev's 1987 Reply to Sichuan Pupils Recalled
*OW1705065589 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0100 GMT 17 May 89*

[From the program for Chinese youth]

[Text] At the end of 1987, some pupils from Sichuan wrote a letter to Comrade Mikhail S. Gorbachev, saying that Chinese children would like to live peacefully and be friends with Soviet children. Today, let us recall the Soviet leader's reply to those Chinese children:

You and your little Soviet friends are the future of our two countries. In some time, you will be taking up the mission to promote economy, science, technology, and culture in our two countries, and participating in managing state and social affairs. The future of our two countries and the future of socialism are in your hands and hinge on how you fulfill these tasks. We who are senior to you believe that you—who can be called the generation of the 21st century—will further promote Soviet-Chinese friendship and friendship among the people of all nations on earth.

This is what Comrade Gorbachev emphatically stressed.

World Leaders, Media Praise Beijing Summit
*PM1605113389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 May 89 Second Edition p 4*

[Roundup of PRAVDA correspondent and TASS reports dated 15 May: "Historic Event. The International Public Hails M.S. Gorbachev's Visit to the PRC."]

[Text] Beijing—The official visit to the PRC by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which began today, is attracting great Chinese public attention. Statements by statesmen and party figures, and PRC press commentaries emphasize the visit's great significance.

"The summit meeting is the first since 1959," the journal BEIJING REVIEW writes. "A historic mission must be fulfilled: It is necessary to put an end to the past and open a new page in Sino-Soviet relations." The journal recalls that both countries' interests were badly damaged by the period of confrontation in the political, military, and psychological spheres. "Such an abnormal situation," the BEIJING REVIEW emphasizes, "led to no good either in relations between two great neighbors—China and the Soviet Union—or in ensuring peace and stability in Asia and throughout the world."

Washington—Secretary of State James Baker pointed out that the United States welcomes the Soviet-Chinese summit. Appearing Sunday on the CBS-TV program "Face the Nation," he declared: During his stay in

China, President George Bush told the Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping that the United States welcomes the fact that the PRC and the Soviet Union are drawing closer together.

The secretary of state reported that the President had sent the Chinese leader a message about this a few days ago. The United States should not be concerned in this regard, Baker pointed out. We must welcome this.

Tokyo—Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita declared that he wholeheartedly welcomes M.S. Gorbachev's visit. Answering a question in parliament, the Japanese head of government pointed out that the normalization of USSR-PRC relations will promote stability in Asia and help ensure world peace.

"This is an excellent new trend," Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno declared in turn. Expressing a wish for the success of the meeting between the top leaders of the USSR and the PRC, he emphasized the need for Japan to play a more active role in ensuring stability in Asia.

In their news programs at noon today, Japanese television companies transmitted video reports from Beijing on the ceremonial welcome for M.S. Gorbachev in the PRC capital.

Emphasizing the exceptional importance of this Soviet-Chinese summit, almost all commentators voice the opinion that this meeting will initiate a new stage in the history of relations between the world's two greatest socialist countries. The majority of commentators also express confidence that the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's visit to Beijing will lead to an expansion of economic, cultural, and social ties between the USSR and the PRC. MAINICHI emphasizes that economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the two countries will promote their socialist development.

Ulaanbaatar—The entire world community, including the Mongolian People's Republic, which shares a common border with the two greatest socialist powers, is interested in the success of M.S. Gorbachev's meetings with the Chinese leaders, a Mongolian radio broadcast states.

The re-establishment of contacts between the CPSU and the CPC, the broadcast points out, is of great significance for the international communist and workers movement. Of course, certain differences of approach to a number of international issues still exist in the two countries, and it is a complex matter to resolve at one try the problems that have accumulated. Nevertheless, we can be confident that this visit will put an end to the difficulties that arose in the past and that it will raise USSR-PRC relations to a new qualitative level.

Budapest—The normalization of USSR-PRC relations is taking place at a time when both states are traveling the path of implementing historic reforms, the newspaper NEPSZABADSAG, organ of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee, writes today. However great the difference in the specific content of the reforms and in their political and economic components, this path still expresses something in common. Socialism has now shown its capacity for renewal, for release itself from past fetters, for the expression of diverse interests. This is why people in socialist countries advancing along the path of reforms and renewal, including Hungary, welcome the Beijing summit with joy and hope.

Bangkok—M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the PRC is the No. 1 news item in international life for the public of Southeast Asian countries. Local press and radio reports call the summit meeting historic.

Summit, Media Reaction, Student Protests Viewed
PM1605125589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 May 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Dispatch by special correspondents V. Kobyshev and Yu. Savenkov: "Day One"]

[Text] Beijing—We shall remember that date. Yesterday, 15 May, at 1200 hours Beijing time (in Moscow it was still 0700 hours) M.S. Gorbachev arrived in Beijing. The first official visit to the PRC by a Soviet leader in 30 years had begun. In a statement issued at the airport, M.S. Gorbachev conveyed cordial greetings and best wishes to the friendly Chinese people from the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Right now the Chinese press is full of items about the Soviet Union and Soviet-Chinese relations. RENMIN RIBAO and other newspapers publish a biography of M.S. Gorbachev today. The day before the visit the newspaper published a sketch by XINHUA observer Wang Chongjie entitled "Soviet Leader of a New Type." "He believes," the author writes, "that a leader who carries out reforms should not have features like antiquated bureaucracy, lordly ways, and the seeking of popularity by unseemly means." The author also notes that M.S. Gorbachev often has meetings with representatives of various strata of society, travels to various parts of the Soviet Union, and talks with people in plants, factories, and stores, and on the street, proceeding from the premise that "the people must be told the truth—you should not fear your own people."

Speaking of the inertia of the old thinking, the observer writes: "Gorbachev believes that there is no way back, that restructuring is a long process, that time, patience, persistence, and a constant quest are needed." The editor of a column in the weekly BEIJING REVIEW, published on Monday, expresses the conviction that healthy and strong relations between China and the USSR accord with the requirements of the time. Warmly welcoming

M.S. Gorbachev's arrival and sincerely wishing his trip success, the commentator notes that the historic summit meeting justifies the hopes of the two peoples and the international community.

How is the country living now at a drastic turning point in its history, at a time when the reform that has brought to China's enormous expanses social changes that have been called "yet another revolution" has revealed difficulties that seemingly went unnoticed before? Never before in China, the experts note, has such an objective picture of life been drawn. After all, previously they traditionally used to be afraid of showing the dark side so as not to scare away optimism. It was believed that only unthinking optimism was enough to overcome misfortunes. The hour of truth has now come. Despite the first successes for the policy of normalizing the economy, a PRC State Council spokesman said recently, the rise in prices is continuing. There are no prospects for completing a halt to inflation, there is merely talk of limiting the inflation rate to single figures. The living standard growth rates will be lower than those to which people have grown accustomed during the years of the reform that has rocked China, and the government has frankly told the people so.

The question of the pace at which headway is being made is being widely discussed. Prime Minister Li Peng, talking with workers at the capital's metallurgical combine recently, explained the need to slow the pace as follows: "Our economy is reminiscent of a man who has been running too fast. He must get his breath back and rest a little, in order to continue on his way again." Incidentally, some economists believe that at least 20 years are needed to shape the new mechanism for managing the national economy. Many difficulties arising during the reform of the economic system cannot be overcome without a reform of the political structure; this truth is being grasped increasingly keenly in China. But in such an enormous developing country the process should proceed gradually. That is the dominant viewpoint.

In recent weeks a wave of student demonstrations against corruption and in support of democracy has swept Beijing and a number of other cities in the country. As Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, noted, that in no way means a political crisis for society. The government has treated the student movement as patriotic enthusiasm. The question is to reconcile the young people's inner impulses with society's objective needs. China's destiny is linked with socialism and the development of reform, and these things must be discussed in a calm and balanced manner.

On Sunday evening there was a discussion between Li Tieying, chairman of the State Committee for Education, other party and government leaders, and representatives of the students.

Addressing workers in the people's meetings center, Zhao Ziyang urged all citizens to prevent any actions that might impede and harm the present summit meeting. Every patriot, he said, must respect the dignity of his motherland and its prestige in the international arena. He also noted that the party and government are seriously examining the demands of students and other strata of the population.

Over 1,200 Chinese and foreign journalists are covering M.S. Gorbachev's visit, including 100 Soviet journalists and 100 Chinese journalists. We carried out a lightning poll with some of our foreign colleagues. On one thing they all agreed: There are busy days ahead. Nonetheless each journalist had something of his own to add.

Vladimir Divis, RUDE PRAVO, (Czechoslovakia) said: "Since the renewal of interparty relations between the two countries, a broad field has opened up for the exchange of experience between the party leaderships on economic and political reforms. I am emphasizing interparty contacts because interstate relations are already developing quite actively."

Riyeiti Khamamoto [name as transliterated] from YOMIURI SHIMBUN describes the "team" from his newspaper (the largest in Japan): "The visit is being covered by 9 correspondents assisting the 3 accredited to Beijing. Colleagues have come from Moscow, Bangkok, Hong Kong, and Tokyo. For several days now we have been transmitting in the morning and evening editions items of the most diverse genres: reports, interviews, dialogues. As for the forthcoming meeting, my forecast (his strictly personal forecast, the correspondent stressed) is that the rapprochement between the USSR and the PRC cannot fail to attract attention in Japan. I fear a change in the configuration of the USSR-United States-China triangle."

N. Dzhayram [name as transliterated], PRESS TRUST OF INDIA, said: "I am concerned above all with discussions on Asian problems. How will the situation in Asia be assessed? India has displayed enormous interest in Gorbachev's Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk initiatives. How will the Chinese side evaluate them now? I will attentively follow the assessments of Soviet-Indian and Indian-Chinese relations."

Louise Branson, THE SUNDAY TIMES (Britain), said: "Gorbachev has captured the imagination of the British, and now there is heightened interest wherever he goes. In this case, the process in one country has something in common with what is happening in the other. The most important question is how soon the Stalinist system China has borrowed will be reformed. What will China be like in the immediate future? The recent student demonstrations have sharpened interest in that country."

Kkhiyeu Tin [name as transliterated], Vietnamese News Agency, said: "Our correspondents are extremely interested in the extent to which there will be a discussion of the political settlement of the Cambodian question, especially as the Chinese side has hinted that there will be unresolved problems between the USSR and the PRC even after the visit. We welcome the meeting. If it is successful, peace and stability will become stronger, including in Southeast Asia, a subject for our special concern."

Dusko Doder, U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT (United States), said: "This is a tremendous event, but it seems to me that we should not connect it with a sensation. Great deeds are done slowly. This is a process. I think the most important thing is the question of demilitarization of the Soviet-Chinese border, which is on the agenda. Both sides are now experiencing difficulties. The failure of the reform on one side will influence the other. But it looks as though the USSR and the PRC have both now understood that they must coexist, and that it is senseless to waste effort on confrontation."

PRC Students Continue Tiananmen Hunger Strike
LD1605163389 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1445 GMT 16 May 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Vitaliy Ilyashenko]

[Text] About 1,500 students are continuing a hunger strike on Tiananmen, Beijing's central square. I will repeat that it started on Saturday [13 May]. The students say that they have chosen to do this in protest of the government's indifference toward their strike and their demands to wage a resolute struggle against corruption and for democracy and glasnost. They also demand to have a direct dialogue with the government.

So far, a meeting between party and government figures and representatives of the students has not yielded any results. The students demanded from the government representatives that a direct relay of the dialogue should be organized for the students on Tiananmen Square and that the evaluation that the students' actions during the funeral ceremony after Hu Yaobang's death was chaotic should be renounced. So far, talks with the students have been suspended as representatives of the PRC government have not agreed to the demands.

Lifting of Sino-Soviet Border Curbs Hailed
18070264 Moscow TRUD in Russian
6 May 89 p 3

[Article by S. Kulik, TASS political commentator, special to TRUD: "USSR-PRC: A Good-Neighborly Border"]

[Text] There is no such state border, or, as those who guard our frontiers call it, "lineage," anywhere else in the Soviet Union. Usually the places in which the border

guards perform their difficult duties are associated with the notion of "godforsaken boondocks," and conjure up the images of exotic peaks beyond the clouds, sands molten by the sun, shores blocked by Arctic ice floes, or, at the very least, treacherous mountain streams.

What about here? To be sure, there is a river which dictates its will to all who live on its banks, including the border guards. However, it does not flow in a deep ravine, but rather rolls its waters down the flat land, having majestically spread to 700 meters of width. Over here, border guard details travel in full view of others rather than in "the wilderness": in winter, right on the ice which binds the great river; in summer—on the beach along which runs a granite-clad embankment—a favorite place for walks by the city folks.

This river is the Amur, and the city is Blagoveshchensk with more than 200,000 inhabitants. Directly opposite, across the ribbon of the river, is the Chinese district center of Heihe, with 100,000 more people. The cities sort of look at each other. This look, benevolent, guarded, or hostile, largely reflects the relations of the two greatest powers in the world.

"Our country has the greatest length of borderline with China," recalls Colonel A.G. Ozhgibesov, the USSR border representative for the Blagoveshchensk section. The border guard detachment which I head is merely one link in protecting the frontiers of our motherland along the "contact band" of the USSR and the PRC extending over 7,500 km. However, this is a very sensitive "link"; due to its unique location, it reacts very precisely to the winds blowing from Moscow and Beijing.

Old people are still alive who would tell you about the prewar years, when in the summer boats would dock exactly opposite the house where A.P. Chekhov stopped en route to Sakhalin. Their owners from the right bank freely went out to the Blagoveshchensk embankment, and, without producing any documents, sold paper lanterns, dragon figurines, varnished boxes, and fruit. In the fifties, thousands of specialists accompanying cargoes of machinery and equipment crossed to China from the USSR on a winter road, when the Amur linked the two cities with an ice bridge. Citizens of adjacent Chinese districts in Heilongjiang Province, the neighbor of our Amursk Oblast, could freely come to Blagoveshchensk, be it for shopping, seeing a doctor, or visiting Soviet friends. Veteran border guards reminisce about the citizens of Blagoveshchensk and Heihe gathering around a huge Christmas tree frozen into the ice in the center of the Amur on New Years' eve, exchanging gifts, dancing in a ring, and singing songs about "the great friendship." On occasion, people in green caps, on detail not far from there, sang along with them.

Unfortunately, there were other times which it is better not to recall. Mutually advantageous cross-border contacts were severed. The Amur has turned into an insurmountable obstacle.

"Should we rake up the past which is unpleasant for both peoples?" considers Aleksandr Georgiyevich. "The desire of Soviet people to normalize relations between our countries is generally known. As I have gathered from conversations with my Chinese colleagues, our neighbors as well do not like to recall that period."

Recently, A. G. Ozhgibesov visited China with a delegation of the Amursk chapter of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society. This is what both he and his fellow travelers think after this trip: At present, the USSR and the PRC are solving significant, and to a great degree, similar tasks in renewing their life. The Soviet people are engaged in restructuring and the Chinese in implementing fundamental economic reforms. We can help each other greatly on this road of transformations, especially in border areas. The content and orientation of conversations with the leaders of Heilongjiang Province showed a clear-cut mutual desire not to restrict ourselves to what has been achieved in the recent years of warming in Soviet-Chinese relations, expand the framework of good-neighborly relations, and endow the contacts of border areas with a new content. They can see in Blagoveshchensk from the practical steps made by the Chinese side that the course of affairs will make the Amur a river of friendship again.

My interlocutor went on: "I do not want you to think that I would like to portray Blagoveshchensk as a 'center' of big-time politics, and claim the role of a diplomat for myself." Usually, the pattern of developing relations between two countries is like this: First, agreements are signed "at the top," in the capitals, and then they are implemented "at the bottom." Here, on the banks of the Amur, these were parallel developments: improvements in border relations proceeded locally as well. For example, we decided as early as 1985 that meetings of our border representatives should not be reduced to official talks within the same room only, and began to add to them excursions, cultural programs, and so forth. We tried to do this in Blagoveshchensk and Heihe and it worked. Then we began to hold informal solemn meetings on the occasion of national or professional holidays. We had seven such friendly events in the course of a year.

Then we started thinking: Is it worthwhile for us to lodge protests concerning various situations occurring on the river? We thought that in cases when a person from the other bank "penetrated foreign waters" by some 10 meters by chance, or fished out a log torn from the other side's raft, we could restrict ourselves to forwarding pertinent information to the Chinese.... We introduced such practices, and they in Heihe reciprocated. If someone crosses the navigating channel by chance now, we suggest that he go back by sound signals or signs. However, there are fewer and fewer such cases, because our Chinese colleagues have conducted extensive explanatory work with the local populace in order to normalize the border situation.

Are these small things? However, they were the ones to help overcome the barrier of alienation which sprang up on the Amur in the 1970's, and provided an opportunity to begin rectifying the shortcomings in the border relations which date back to the treaty regulating them from the time of the tsars. The idea of M.S. Gorbachev, voiced during his visit to the Far East, that the official border between the USSR and the PRC could go along the main navigable channel of the Amur met with tremendous positive response in China. Complicated situations along the river became fewer, the ball started rolling.

The talks on border issues resumed in February 1987 after a pause of 9 years. Several rounds have been held since. Having exchanged their views in detail, the sides came out in favor of resolving border issues rationally.

Work on implementing a joint plan for the comprehensive utilization of natural resources of the tributary areas of the Amur, Ussuri, and Argun rivers, along which the Soviet-Chinese border runs in the Far East, began almost simultaneously. Construction workers will come to the border area any day now. They will begin the construction of a power line, through which China will receive electricity from the USSR as early as the end of this year.

Cross-border trade is adding original colors to the palette of restored good-neighborly relations. Indeed, why do the citizens of Blagoveshchensk have to import many of the goods they need from the central areas of Russia which are 7,000 to 8,000 km away, if they can be brought in from Heihe in 15 minutes?

Many economic functionaries have already understood this. Enterprises of other oblasts of the Far East and West Siberia have also begun shipping cargoes across the Amur. Every day, two to three, and occasionally more, delegations of enterprises take part in cross-border trade travel across the river.

"Given such a 'boom,' old forms of paperwork for foreign travel turned out to be unsustainable. This is why the border services of the two countries created this document," says A.G. Ozhgibesov giving me a small booklet in a bright blue jacket. "This is 'a border-crossing pass,' which makes trips across the Amur as simple as possible for those who travel on business."

"Do you have violators?" I inquired.

"Hardly any, except for two or three cases in winter, when people go out on the ice. At present, we have no misunderstandings at the border. This is a peaceful border. Just so that you do not get the idea that the service of border guards in our 'urban' border guards detachment is simple and easy, visit one of the frontier posts. You decide which one you go to: the 'Western' is guarding the Amur, the 'Eastern' is interesting because it deals with the operation of our KPP [border crossing checkpoint] in the port, through which the entire stream of passengers goes."

I asked to see the "Western" post. Captain A.M. Kiryushin is in command here. Aleksandr Mikhaylovich began his service as a soldier in the Blagoveshchensk detachment of border guards. Later, he graduated from the Moscow Soviet Higher Command Academy of the USSR KGB in Moscow, and was again posted to the Far East. He knows local specifics from his own experience.

The post is multinational; Russians and Uzbeks, Ukrainians and Azerbaijanis, Tatars, Chuvash, and Bashkirs serve here. I talked to many soldiers. The service is interesting and unusual, though difficult. Initially, they have difficulty believing that China is across the river. Certainly, they are homesick. However, when they begin to make friends, feel the camaraderie, and, mainly, become aware of the tremendous responsibility entrusted to them by the motherland, another feeling develops: pride in the post, in belonging to the border guard troops, satisfaction with contributing to the great endeavor of restoring good-neighborly relations between the USSR and China.

As the Soviet-Chinese relations have improved, other restrictions have been gradually canceled. Their essence is not to "wash away" the state border or weaken its protection, but to improve work under new conditions. After all, as M.S. Gorbachev stated, the Amur should unite rather than separate the peoples of the USSR and the PRC. As I have become convinced, our border guards have done and are doing everything for the great river, along which the Soviet-Chinese border runs, to always be a river of friendship.

PRC Desire for USSR Joint Ventures Discussed
18250157 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 11 May 89 p 3

[Article by special correspondent A. Zaytsev: "Not Just Neighbors"]

[Text] Recently, a Chinese colleague of mine working in Moscow called me: "Would you like to meet our 'door-to-door salesmen'?"

...Samples of all kinds of shoes—for men, women, children, for sports, winter, and summer—lined the entire perimeter of the hotel room. It was easy to visualize what the scene would be in any of our shops if these shoes were to turn up there, all the more so because the merchants wanted a very modest price.

Actually, only one of them, representing a joint shoe enterprise with South Korea in Tianjin, had something directly to do with footwear. The business card of the other one indicated the East European office of a company exporting and importing artwork. In their case, they had a long list of all kinds of consumer goods offered in exchange for Soviet goods.

Several weeks were still to elapse before 1 April, denoting yet another milestone in our economic restructuring, but the "door-to-door" merchants were already busy sizing up the opportunities it was to open. From dawn until dusk, the phone was ringing in their room, there was a throng of people, and negotiations were being conducted....

This is how commercial farsightedness and enterprise were transferring the relations of the two countries into a businesslike dimension without waiting for them to be officially normalized. Life was resolutely transcending the heritage of fruitless confrontation, common sense triumphed over the ideological dogmas which have long constrained the communication of the two peoples.

It has become banal to talk about China and the USSR as neighbors. However, we are not just neighbors. There is no other case in the world where states so large in population and area come together. There is no longer borderline than the Chinese-Soviet one. Geography itself is suggesting cooperation as the most natural form of mutual relations between us.

"A nearby neighbor is better than remote relatives"—I have frequently heard this piece of popular wisdom in China, especially in the northeast which borders on our Far East. Their geographical proximity has been boosted by history.

Mayor of Dalian Wei Fuhai reminded me: "The name of our city is derived from the Russian Dalniy."

The Russians also founded Liushun (old Port Arthur) next to Dalian. This is where the famous Chinese-Eastern Railway, built by the Russians, ended. Right from the window of the mayor's office we could see a monument to our soldiers who liberated the city from the Japanese in 1945.

At a machine tool plant in Shengyang, the capital of Liaoning, one of the northeastern provinces, they told me first off that it had been built in the years of the first Chinese 5-Year Plan with Soviet aid. They had good things to say about dozens of our specialists who worked here.

We did not talk about the subsequent alienation in Soviet-Chinese relations. They were much more interested in the future. We agreed that there definitely would not be a return to the "rosy period." The era of overblown assurances of eternal friendship and the cult of "the elder brother" is gone forever, together with the conditions which nurtured it. Just as for people who are beyond the romantic age, it is much more in character for our states to build their relations on a basis commensurate with their maturity, as partners worthy of each other, especially in the sphere of economics.

Let me qualify this immediately: The Chinese business circles, enthused with the new economic thinking looking forward to the 21st century, are well aware of our present situation, and of the fact that they cannot procure modern technologies and machinery in our country. We cannot have illusions about becoming a partner of China in this sense. In this sphere, the West and the newly industrialized countries of Asia catching up with it in terms of technology will be the model for China. However, the potential for cooperation with the Soviet Union is by no means ignored, and the factor of proximity is commonly taken into account.

"We have one of the largest ports in the country," said Wei Fuhai. "We trade with the entire world, including the Soviet Far East. However, the volume of our turnover with the Soviet Far East is by no means in line with our potential. In Dalian, heavy and light industry are equally developed. The clothing we make is known all over China. This is the main point in our country for the exports of apples. We turn out many other products which are in short supply in the [Soviet] maritime area, in Khabarovsk Krai. On the other hand, we need your fertilizer, metal, timber, cement, some consumer goods."

It is no accident that the mayor emphasized contacts with neighbors on the other side of the border. In an effort to promote the development of foreign trade, the PRC government has given the right to conduct export and import operations in provinces and cities. By a special decree in April of last year, many of them were granted independence in conducting trade with the USSR on the basis of local resources, which they immediately took advantage of. For example, in Dalian and Shengyang special companies were created for commercial and economic contacts with the USSR. Delegations from Shengyang went to Khabarovsk and Sakhalin, and from Dalian to Vladivostok and Nakhodka. The return visits came without much delays.

The effect of direct contacts became apparent immediately. The volume of commercial transactions envisaged by the very first contracts signed came to tens of millions of Swiss francs (in which the settlements between our countries are denominated). However, the degree of mutual understanding achieved by the partners is still more instructive.

"Who could have thought that our stores would establish a direct exchange of goods with the department stores of Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk?" said Liang Shuangbin, chairman of the Shengyang Foreign Economic Association. "Or that 800 of our workers will go to Sakhalin to take part in logging, and as many will go there soon in order to build various facilities? In return, we will receive the goods we are interested in."

Construction workers from Dalian will build a hotel and a road in Nakhodka on similar terms. Being aware of our problems with housing, roads, and service facilities,

especially in Siberia and the Far East, the city authorities are always ready to engage in cooperation with any partner in these areas. This includes both civil and industrial construction.

The desire to cooperate with us in China extends also to industrial cooperation and joint entrepreneurship. Most frequently, it is suggested that we build farms, poultry complexes, and agricultural enterprises for delivering products to Soviet consumers.

I would admit that after visiting state-of-the-art production facilities in the Dalian zone of technical and economic development, designed to attract foreign capital, I was bewildered: "What do we have to offer here? How can we fit in this realm of the technology of tomorrow?" However, the masters of the zone do not rule out our participation in it, e.g., by creating enterprises for processing fish and lumber.

In Shengyang, they are looking in our country for partners in joint production of furniture of Soviet models, made from Soviet raw materials, and sold in part in the USSR. To be sure, they complain that the search is not easy: There is little information on Soviet enterprises, communicating with them is difficult—they do not have telexes, which the Chinese businessmen are used to by now, convenient transportation is lacking. In Dalian, they told me that getting to the supposedly nearby Nakhodka takes as much as 3 days. The idea of introducing flights between the cooperating cities is evident indeed, but thus far even the standing agreement on a Harbin-Khabarovsk flight has not been implemented.

I got the impression that on our side not only the infrastructure for expanding and enhancing economic cooperation with the PRC is lacking, but also the readiness for it. This was borne out by our conversations with the staff of our commercial representative office in Beijing, Yu. Chinyayev, M. Lityagin, and V. Myagkov, who, as they say, are familiar with the entire picture.

Over the decades of alienation from China, our perception of it has been frozen. However, from the point of view of a businessman, for a long time it has not been the same China anymore. Industries manufacturing various high-quality products have been developing here. Many kinds of products, such as textiles, leather goods, footwear, are successfully exported to the West, where the label "Made in China" is becoming as common as the Hong Kong or Taiwan one. Our foreign trade organizations are sort of failing to take notice.

"On many occasions, we have forwarded to them proposals for increasing the purchases of goods in China which would be snapped up in our country," testifies department chief in the commercial representative office V. Myagkov. "Say, the general director of 'Raznoeksport' replied that there were no good-quality goods here. However, one could only get such an impression looking at what procurement commissions select here, which

operate on the principle 'it could be bad as long as it is cheap.' After all, they do visit the Guangzhou fair, where they have an opportunity to see the best. Only during last year did the Ministry of Trade take interest in Chinese footwear manufactured under licenses granted by foreign companies."

Deputy commercial representative Yu. Chinyayev believes: "The potential of the local market and its development trends have not been duly reflected in the structure of our imports thus far. However, by using it we may not only fill the shelves of our stores with high-quality consumer goods, but also avoid purchasing them in other countries for hard currency, saving the latter for more important goals. We need, so to say, a strategic turnaround toward China, cooperating with which will facilitate solving our social problems."

Let us hope that the forthcoming visit to China by M. S. Gorbachev will help us "discover" this great country anew.

PRC Workers' Attitudes Toward Reform Viewed

18070263 Moscow TRUD in Russian 4 May 89 p 3

[Interview with Li Zheng, director of the Scientific Research Institute of the Workers' Movement of China, by A. Sukhotin in Beijing; date of interview not given; first four paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The "May 4th Movement"—today is its 70th anniversary—played an important role in the establishment of the Chinese proletariat as an independent political force. Having struck in support of the student demonstrations against the signing by Chinese authorities of the Treaty of Versailles, according to which Japan received special privileges in Shandong Province, the working class of China acted to protect national interests and democracy in an organized and deliberate way for the first time.

Under the influence of these actions, the first Chinese trade unions were created in 1920, and a year later the first congress of the Communist Party of China was held and there began a new stage in the democratic revolution that culminated 3 decades later with the formation of the PRC.

But recently among the Chinese intelligentsia there have been continuous discussions related to attempts on the part of certain of its representatives to give their own interpretation to those events and evaluate in a new way the role of the "May 4th Movement" in the history of China.

The position of PRC trade unions with respect to certain disputed aspects was the subject of a discussion in Beijing between our correspondent and the director of the Scientific Research Institute of the Workers' Movement of China, Li Zheng.

[Sukhotin] Comrade Li, in China people continue to be interested in the events of the "May 4th Movement." Apparently a number of problems and slogans of those years are still timely in our day...

[Li Zheng] Of course, the "May 4th Movement," as we know, was profoundly antifeudal and developed under the influence of the October Revolution in Russia. It led to the creation of the Chinese revolutionary intelligentsia and the Communist Party, and the recognition by the country's working class of its historic mission.

The movement had two main slogans: democracy and science. They said that China needed two masters — Mr. "D" and Mr. "S" (the first letters of the English words "democracy" and "science"). And indeed both were needed.

Ten years ago at the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the CPC proclaimed a similar slogan, "Emancipation of Consciousness," which we have followed unwaveringly all this time. Initially, the goal of the slogan was liberation from leftist influence. Now it is directed toward reinterpreting the heavy burden left as a legacy from the many centuries of feudal culture.

Socialist modernization of China is impossible without this. And the working class—which must strengthen its awareness of democracy and raise its level of culture, education, and scientific knowledge—should be in the front ranks of today's movement.

[Sukhotin] What are the interrelations between the Chinese workers and the "two masters" today?

[Li Zheng] Workers and employees do not yet have a profound understanding of democracy. Many concentrate their attention only on their own narrow economic interests. They do not value very highly or defend political interests.

For example, the PRC Enterprise Law envisions the creation of meetings of representatives of workers and employees throughout the country. In practice, the leaders of a number of enterprises do not respect the rights of workers and employees, and the latter do not know how to defend their interests. Democracy depends on the level of awareness. It is as though it has two sides: the existence of rights, and the ability to take advantage of them. If the level of awareness is high, the workers make the director hold a meeting.

In my view, modern society cannot do without either democratic rights or the ability to take advantage of them. On this plane the level of awareness, for example, of workers and employees in the European countries is higher than ours. Hence, one can boldly assert that China needs Mr. "D."

The same thing can be said about Mr. "S." Backwardness can be seen everywhere here. Some of the workers show no interest at all in the efforts of trade unions to raise the level of their scientific knowledge and technical skills. Thus, in addition to the slogan of the "May 4th Movement" about democracy, which is crucial for today's China, no less crucial is the slogan about science. It would seem that "emancipation of consciousness" in China will have to traverse a long, hard path.

[Sukhotin] What is the essence of the discussion among the Chinese intelligentsia on re-evaluation of the role of the "May 4th Movement"?

[Li Zheng] There are various ideological trends among the Chinese intelligentsia. There are correct ones and there are also erroneous ones. In my opinion, this is normal for a society during a time of difficult changes. The same thing, in my opinion, can be observed in the USSR.

But still some of the people in the PRC incorrectly estimate the "May 4th Movement." They assume that China should have adopted Western ideas, stereotypes, and culture and are in favor of transplanting Western democracy and science to Chinese soil.

Of course, today China should accelerate the construction of a socialist democracy. But here it is necessary to proceed from the concrete situation and the specific features we have already discussed, and to avoid blind borrowing.

[Sukhotin] What position do the Chinese trade unions hold here?

[Li Zheng] They support the course for construction of a socialist democracy in China earmarked by the 13th CPC Congress. But I emphasize again that democratization for China is a lengthy and continuous process. The opinion that political freedoms can exceed the level of social and economic development is not only erroneous but also harmful.

Therefore, the Chinese trade unions are concentrating their efforts on the construction of democracy on a lower level—i.e. in the enterprises, where the workers and employees should realize their position as masters of production. This produces more real results than empty slogans do.

Anthology on PRC Economic Reforms Published
PM1605092789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[B. Barakhta article under the rubric "Among Books": "For a Deeper Knowledge of Each Other"]

[Text] Interest in our great neighbor China on the eve of the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting is unusually great. This is understandable. The Soviet leader's visit to China is an historic event in our epoch.

A collection of articles by well-known Chinese economists entitled "PRC on Paths to Reform," published a few days ago by the "Nauka" Publishing House, will assist in providing a more profound knowledge of China and the socioeconomic reforms that have been underway there for over 10 years.

Among the authors are leaders and leading specialists of CPC Central Committee establishments, the PRC State Council, and the PRC Academy of Social Sciences, many of whom have made a significant personal contributions to formulating and implementing the program of reforms. Liu Guoguang, the well-known Chinese scholar and economist and vice president of the PRC Academy of Social Sciences, has written a foreword specially for Soviet readers. In short, for the first time, I think, our readers are given this broad opportunity to come into contact with the primary sources of the theory and practice of building socialism, with specific reference to China, and to become acquainted with the search in the PRC for solutions to the problems of reforming the system of ownership, management, finances, pricing, foreign trade, and the economic system in the city and the countryside.

In conclusion, let us add that this collection is the outcome of one of the first steps on the path of cooperation among Soviet and Chinese scholars and economists. A similar book by Soviet economists has already been published in Beijing.

Northeast Asia

Soviet Troops Departing Mongolia Arrive at Border
OW1705015289 Beijing XINHUA in English
0114 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Moscow, May 16 (XINHUA)—The first contingent of Soviet troops withdrawing from Mongolia arrived at the border station Naushki today after traveling over 600 kilometers across Mongolia.

Soviet troops started pulling out of Mongolia on May 15, the day Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev arrived in Beijing for a four-day official visit to China.

The Soviet news agency TASS reported that the number of Soviet troops to be pulled out by the end of this year will account for one-fourth of the total number of troops to be pulled out by the end of 1990.

Soviet Defense Ministry spokesman Major General Yuri Markelov announced the troop withdrawal at a press conference here Tuesday.

Markelov said 50,000 Soviet troops, 850 tanks and all of the air force stationed in Mongolia are to be pulled out by the end of 1990, a total of 75 percent of all the Soviet troops stationed in Mongolia.

A full Soviet motorized division and several independent units had already been withdrawn from Mongolia from April to June of 1987.

'Historic Achievement' Noted

PM1605144489 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Nabatchikov report: "USSR - Mongolia: The Soldiers Return Home"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, Erdenet—As was announced earlier, the withdrawal of part of the contingent of Soviet troops from the Mongolian People's Republic began 15 May. The first to set off for home from Erdenet and Choyr stations are subunits of a tank division and anti-aircraft missile troops. In all, in 1989-1990 more than 850 tanks, some 1,100 infantry combat vehicles and armored carriers, more than 820 artillery systems of various kinds, some 190 planes, and 130 helicopters will return to the USSR's territory as part of a total strength of more than 50,000 troops who are being withdrawn from Mongolia.

Only recently Erdenet, Mongolia's heavy industry pioneer, reported with pride the extraction of its millionth tonne of copper concentrate. And during these sunny spring days one of Mongolia's youngest cities became the starting point for another historic achievement, remarkable in the development of Soviet-Mongolian cooperation, a turning point in the republic's life whose significance goes far beyond the bounds of the republic. It is symbolic that it is from Erdenet's soil, which has long been synonymous with all that is new and progressive in the development of friendly ties between our countries and peoples, that the first echelons of the Soviet military contingent are leaving for the Motherland on 15 May.

...The Soviet tanks waiting on the railroad platforms at Erdenet station are an unusual sight. With their guns and illumination devices covered up, they seem to have sunk into a long, lethargic sleep. The festive atmosphere is filled with farewells, the exchange of memorial banners between the Soviet and Mongolian brothers in arms, the solemn notes of state anthems, the rousing tunes of favorite marching songs, embraces, flowers, smiles.

The return home of the subunits of this tank division is not only a new episode in the lives of the Soviet servicemen who have worthily fulfilled their international duty in Mongolia, but one more important milestone in the Soviet state's policy designed radically to improve the situation in all parts of the world, including Asia and the Pacific.

"Our country began reducing the contingent of Soviet troops in Mongolia 2 years ago," Major General L.S. Mayorov told IZVESTIYA's correspondent. "In full accordance with the purely defensive nature of Soviet

military doctrine, the greater part (75 percent) of the Soviet troops in Mongolia will return home, including two tank divisions, two air divisions, and several individual units.

"Soviet servicemen have repeatedly responded to the Mongolian Government's request, and their appearance in the republic's territory had the aim of fulfilling specific tasks; on each occasion they returned home when their mission had been fulfilled and their presence in Mongolia was no longer necessary. This is the historical context," the commander stressed, "in which the present humane action should be seen. Coinciding with M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the PRC, it will undoubtedly have a positive influence on the course and results of the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting and make it possible to give new impetus to the peace process in the region and throughout the world."

The Soviet internationalist servicemen are leaving Mongolia with warm, cheerful feelings, leaving good memories behind them.

"The Soviet servicemen," Mongolian Defense Minister Colonel General J. Yondon says, "gave us great assistance not only in the mastery of complex modern combat hardware and in improving the combat skill of personnel and strengthening the republic's defense capability in general. Their services are also invaluable in all sectors of socialist building in the country, and in the strengthening of Mongolian-Soviet cooperation."

During their presence in Mongolia for a quarter of a century, Soviet military construction workers took part in the creation of 2,500 projects of national economic significance, including the construction of several new cities, plants, and factories, more than 10 technical schools and vocational and technical colleges, 33 school complexes and schools, 46 kindergartens, and the capital's air terminal. In conjunction with civilian construction workers they erected more than 2.3 million square meters of housing. Every eighth citizen of Mongolia today lives in a home in which a substantial share of the labor of Soviet servicemen was invested....

"It is now a matter of making sensible use of the enormous material reserves that are being handed over entirely to the Mongolian side for their continued use in the interests of the republic's national economy. These questions are being resolved jointly, in the spirit of the best traditions of mutual respect and mutual understanding, from the standpoint of common concern for their future destiny," I was told by B. Tseren, deputy chairman of the Mongolian State Committee for Planning and Economy.

In short, the former and new owners of the military facilities being released have had many unusual tasks and concerns. Unusual, but noble, because they benefit peace, and therefore our peoples' well-being. And this too is a sign of the times.

Timing of Pullout 'Noteworthy'

OW1705063389 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1200 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Soviet troops have been stationed in Mongolia upon the request of the Mongolian Government. Recently, a majority of Soviet troops have begun to withdraw from Mongolia. Agreement on the withdrawal was reached between the Soviet Union and Mongolia in March this year. Moscow Radio's correspondent in Mongolia filed the following report:

First, a section of the Soviet armored division started for the Soviet Union from a railway station in Erdenet. Aircraft artillery and missile units also started for home from Choyr. A meeting was held in Erdenet to express gratitude to the Soviet troops. This is because at the time the Mongolian national economy was devastated. Soviet Armed Forces engaged in relief operations for the benefit of the residents.

Commanding officer of the Soviet forces in Mongolia, General Mayorev stated during an interview with Soviet television: [Mayorev is heard briefly speaking in Russian, fading into Japanese translation] A majority of Soviet troops, led by six divisions, have started their withdrawal. These include two armored divisions, two airborne divisions and several other divisions. The factors that made this withdrawal possible include not only the favorable development of the overall international situation but also the improvement of the situation in the Asia and Pacific region. This was made possible by the improvement in relations between the Soviet Union, Mongolia and China. It is noteworthy that Soviet troop withdrawals from Mongolia coincide with General Secretary Gorbachev's visit to China. This year and next year, 50,000 Soviet troops, including military technicians, will return home. Most of the units remaining in Mongolia consist of construction crews.

Gorbachev Greets Batmonh en Route to PRC
LD1605044789 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0335 GMT 16 May 89

[Excerpt] Ulaanbaatar, 16 May (TASS)—There is enormous Mongolian interest in M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the PRC. Mongolian workers watched the Soviet leader's arrival in Beijing and the beginning of his talks with Yang Shangkun on Soviet television's 'Orbita' system.

UNEN, the organ of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee, published on its front page today the text of a telegram from M.S. Gorbachev to the Mongolian leader Jambyn Batmonh, sent from aboard his plane, while overflying Mongolian territory. The telegram says: I send cordial greetings to the fraternal Mongolian people and the people's MPRP. I express my confidence that friendship and comprehensive Soviet-Mongolian cooperation will continue to

strengthen and develop in the interests of the peoples of our countries and in the interests of international cooperation and good-neighborliness. [passage omitted]

Japanese Official Remarks on Sino-Soviet Summit
LD1605052589 Moscow TASS in English 0308 GMT
16 May 89

[Text] Tokyo May 16 TASS—Japan expects that the normalisation of Soviet-Chinese relations will promote the development of contacts between the two countries and will make a contribution to the establishment of peace and stability in Asia. Keizo Obuchi, general secretary of the Japanese cabinet of ministers, stated today.

Speaking at a regular briefing, he pointed out that the Japanese Government was with interest and attention following the Soviet-Chinese current summit meeting in Beijing.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Partial Agreement Reached at SRV-PRC Talks
PM1605114989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 May 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent B. Vinogradov commentary: "Vietnam-China: New Round"]

[Text] Hanoi—The second round of Vietnamese-Chinese consultations at deputy foreign minister level has been held in Beijing. According to VNA, the sides discussed a number of questions concerning the normalization of relations between the SRV and the PRC and also examined the prospects for settling the Cambodian problem.

Mutual understanding was reached on some aspects of these talks. In particular, Vietnam and China are unanimous on the questions of withdrawing Vietnamese troops from Cambodia within the agreed deadline, terminating military aid to the warring sides, creating an international monitoring mechanism, respecting the independence, sovereignty, and neutrality of Cambodia, establishing its status as a nonaligned country, and convening an international conference as soon as possible.

At the same time, it is being pointed out that the participants in the meeting did not manage to overcome their differences in assessing the role of the "Khmer Rouge" in the settlement process and also concerning the question of a provisional body of power in Cambodia to be set up after the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops is complete and to remain in office until general elections are held. SRV First Deputy Foreign Minister Dinh Nho Liem said that all aspects of an internal settlement of the Cambodian problem must be resolved by the Cambodians themselves without outside interference. In this respect there should be guarantees against the restoration of the genocidal Pol Pot regime.

Vietnam and China expressed their support for the dialogue between Hun Sen, head of the Cambodian Government, and Prince Norodom Sihanouk, regarding it as an important political feature in the elimination of the regional conflict as a whole.

It has been learned here from reports from Beijing that, after the completion of the consultations, PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen received Dinh Nho Liem. "We had hoped," the minister said, "to make progress in the direction of a fair, reasonable settlement of the Cambodian question, but unfortunately we did not succeed in reaching full mutual understanding. We want Cambodia to be able to become an independent, peaceful, neutral, nonaligned country that will maintain friendly relations with other countries. We do not want civil war to break out in Cambodia after the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops." Touching on relations between China and Vietnam, Qian Qichen spoke of the Chinese side's desire to normalize relations, although only on the condition that the Cambodian question is resolved once and for all.

The sides have agreed to continue their consultations in the future. The time and place of the third meeting will be established through diplomatic channels. The Vietnamese delegation has left Beijing to tour some of China's provinces.

Cambodia Returns to 'Normal Way of Life'
PM1605110389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own special correspondents M. Domogatskikh, P. Tsvetov, and A. Chernyak: "Cambodia Today: Those Who Have Triumphed over Death"]

[Excerpt] Phnom Penh-Moscow—[Passage omitted] The bustle of Phnom Penh was an eloquent sign to us of Cambodia's return to a normal way of life. The city was festooned with multicolored garlands of electric lights. Trade in the markets was brisk. The numerous, small, late-night restaurants were noisy. An influx of tourists from abroad, including Khmers who had left during the war for the United States, France, and other countries, was also noticeable.

The arrival of immigrants is an obvious result of the course of national reconciliation proclaimed by the country's leadership. The joint statement by the governments of the State of Kampuchea, Laos, and the SRV regarding the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodian territory has opened up new vistas for this process. After its publication no one, not even the most incorrigible skeptics, should harbor any doubts that the units of the Vietnamese People's Army, which rescued Cambodians from Pol Pot's genocide, will be returning home this September. The three Indochina states have proposed that this be carried out under international monitoring. True, the full and effective implementation of the new initiative demands a sense of great responsibility on the part of the international

community. This applies to the simultaneous cessation of military aid to all Cambodian sides, noninterference in Cambodia's internal affairs from outside, and the good offices of all states in securing a resumption of talks and the achievement of accords on internal aspects of the problem among the Cambodian sides.

Cambodians regard the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops calmly. As is well known, several stages in this process have already been gone through, and only one-third of the original contingent of the Vietnamese People's Army now remains in the country. It is plain that it has not entailed any decline in Cambodians' business activity. There is a lot of construction work continuing in Phnom Penh, for example, and there has been a marked rise in the demand for and price of cement as a consequence.

"We are confident of the ability of our army and security forces to repulse the counterrevolutionary gangs," said Kong Syng [name as published], Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] district committee member, when we visited a military camp in the Province of Kampongspoe to which Pol Pot followers had voluntarily come to surrender. There are more and more cases of people coming over to the Revolutionary Army. But the Pol Pot gangs are still carrying out their despicable deeds."

Kong Syng described how a gang went into "action" at midday, expecting to carry out their despicable deed with impunity. It knew that there was not a single Vietnamese volunteer in the area and thought that it would execute its plan without any interference at all. But the bandits did not get away scot free: A detachment of the people's militia which has been formed in the countryside and trained how to handle weapons joined battle with the unbidden guests. After losing around 10 wounded men, the bandits retreated. It was after this that the group of "dupes," as those who now stand on the other side of the barricades are called in Cambodia, broke away from Pol Pot.

We conversed with Khu Chon [name as published], a 40-year-old dressed in a green uniform. He described the harsh practices in Pol Pot's ranks and how much is ruled by fear there.

"Now that the Cambodian Government's policy is becoming increasingly well known in the Pol Pot camps," he said, "people are beginning to open their eyes and see that the path imposed on them by Pol Pot is a path to the abyss."

But it should be said that far from everyone regards the events in the State of Kampuchea this way. There are still forces which oppose the advent of changes in policy and in people's feelings.

And yet many hopes are pinned on the states of the region understanding that the neutralization of the Pol Pot armed forces and the maintenance of peace and

stability in Cambodia after the Vietnamese volunteers' withdrawal would be in the common interest. The stance of neighboring Thailand is particularly significant in this regard.

Special attention has been paid to the words of Chatchai Chunhawan, that country's prime minister, who stated not so long back that it is necessary to "transform Indochina from a battlefield into a market." It is noticeable that the position of those working in this direction in Thailand is strengthening. One can in any event talk about the start of Cambodian-Thai dialogue. The Phnom Penh market, which has, incidentally, significantly increased in size, is full of consumer goods wholly made in Thailand. People may object that these are contraband goods. But the merchants do not conceal such goods and they pay tax to the state. Thai business is thus inevitably entering into business relations with the government of the State of Kampuchea. At the same time our Cambodian friends do not expect the "easy life" in the "post-Vietnamese" period, as some journalists here have dubbed it.

"We are giving a lot of thought now to how to work under the conditions of national reconciliation and coalition organs of power, when it cannot be ruled out that the most diverse forces, including the former opposition, will develop their activity throughout the country and publish newspapers and magazines," said Kkhun Sudori [name as published], deputy chief editor of the newspaper PRACHEACHON. "The importance of the KPRP's political and ideological work will sharply increase then."

Party members are now reexamining many of their views on society, the principles of economic management, and the political system. And it is not just that the course of national reconciliation may have as its consequence pluralism in politics, the economy, and ideology. The interests of ensuring the all-around progressive development of the country and the satisfaction of the population's needs have required that certain hasty measures be abandoned and that we get closer to the real situation. The Second National Conference of KPRP Cadre Workers, a number of whose sessions we were able to attend, is of particular significance in this regard. Its decisions could lead to important changes, particularly in the socioeconomic sphere.

The conference summed up the results of the highly intensive 10-year struggle to revive the country and outlined future plans. This primarily concerns the agrarian sphere and ownership. The conference decided to grant permanent ownership of land and dwellings to peasants, with the right to sell them and pass them on to their heirs. City-dwellers were also permitted to own their own houses. There is one condition: Both must pay a state tax. This is a really revolutionary step, given that private ownership of real estate was constitutionally proscribed in the country prior to 1989. The go-ahead

has been given to the development of small-scale industry, handicraft industry, and the private sector in the sphere of freight and passenger transport.

Such changes required the introduction of amendments to the republic's fundamental law. As the Constitution notes, the State of Kampuchea is a unified, independent, democratic, sovereign, peaceful, neutral, and nonaligned country, where all power is invested in the people. The Cambodian working people exercise their power through the National Assembly, which is elected by direct secret ballot for a term of 5 years. During recesses between National Assembly sessions its functions are discharged by the State Council. People's committees will now serve as local organs of power in place of the former people's revolutionary committees. The Constitution notes that the KPRP remains the leading force in society.

The State of Kampuchea's fundamental law lays down that Buddhism is the country's state religion. The state's foreign policy is based on principles of peaceful coexistence and the development of equitable relations with all countries of the world, irrespective of their social systems. Under the constitution, its economy includes state, mixed state-private, cooperative, family, and private elements.

The Cambodian state flag, emblems, and anthem were changed at the same time.

Virtually the whole nation is engaged in the work of renewing Cambodia. And that is understandable. The country's realistic policy is bound to attract the broad masses of the people, who have triumphed over death and feel that they can live in happiness in their own land. [passage omitted]

Interference in Burma Denied, U.S. Role Cited

*BK1505132589 Moscow in Burmese to Burma
1030 GMT 15 May 89*

[Aleksandr Vladimirov commentary: "Is the USSR Interfering in the Internal Affairs of Burma?"]

[Text] The propaganda machinery of the United States, particularly agencies that deal with developments in Burma, have been trying hard these days to smear the relations between the Soviet Union and Burma. Propaganda that glaringly contradicts facts is something that is not worthy of any response because it neither befits diplomatic norms nor journalistic ethics. However, since false propaganda is being spread repeatedly with what appears to be some ulterior motives, it deserves a careful study. Take, for instance, the allegations that the Soviet Union is involved in the offensives of the Burmese Army against the insurgents, or that it is supplying the Burmese Army with weapons and even helicopters.

The insurgent leader, Bo Mya, was reported to have alleged that Soviet heavy weapons experts were involved in the training and shelling of the Karen insurgent

camps. Bo Mya made the allegations based on the evidence of porters who alleged they came across Russian-speaking people in the Burmese jungles. However, not only did Bo Mya fail to produce the alleged Russian-speaking people in his story, he could not even produce the porters who were supposed to have met these people. As far as the weapons being used are concerned, it is common knowledge that they were acquired, even the Americans acknowledge this, from noncommunist countries of Asia and Europe.

Falsified reports about the Soviet and Vietnamese involvement in Burmese affairs are clearly an attempt to malign Soviet policy toward Burma. As a gesture of showing respect for the Burmese people's right to determine their own social system, the USSR has always maintained good neighborly relations with Burma, both during the tenures of the U Nu government and the U Ne Win government. The key principle on the part of the USSR in these relations being non-interference in the internal affairs of Burma, and this holds true even today and no one can deny it.

For this reason, Western propaganda media tries to circumvent this fact. They try to portray as if the policy adopted by the U Ne Win government was something that Moscow would like all newly independent nations to practice. But as everybody knows, U Ne Win decided freely, by himself, without any outside advice on the nature of the reforms to initiate as well as on the steps to take in implementing the reforms. It is true that the Burma Socialist Program has its own peculiarities as far as the development of an Asian nation is concerned. But the efforts made were not successful. One cannot even say that there was socialism in Burma, and the reason for this, as many Soviet academics believe, is that the Burma Socialist Program Party failed to take into account the most scientific fundamentals of socialism.

This being the case, there may be allegations that the Soviet Union interfered in the Burmese affairs because it feared the downfall of socialism in Asia. But such an allegation would just be an excuse to support the propaganda about Soviet interference.

From the looks of it, some individuals in the United States want to frighten both the government and the opposition forces by pointing to the so-called threat from outside. They even point to the improving Sino-Soviet ties as a source of such a threat. It is quite clear what they are thinking. They believe that once the USSR and China have ironed out their differences, the two nations will exert pressure on Burma. Attempts are being made to bring up a similar theory regarding Soviet-Indian relations. Under the current world political situation, improvement of relations between two superpowers does not constitute a threat to smaller Asian nations.

For instance, even the ASEAN countries, which once had a great mistrust for both the USSR and the PRC, are viewing Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Beijing and the

normalization of relations between the two countries as a positive step. They say the visit will contribute to the improvement of Asian affairs and change confrontation to cooperation in Asia. Such changes have opened up definitive and bright prospects for the governments in Southeast Asia. For example, the artificial barriers existing between the three Indochina countries and ASEAN and also Burma can now be removed, and the concept of establishing a Golden Peninsula is being widely discussed in Asia today.

The main purpose of all of these is the expansion of trade and economic cooperation in the region. Taking into account the economic situation in Burma today, it is evident that the Burmese people greatly favor such a cooperation. The Soviet Union, which has already made wide-ranging proposals for the expansion of cooperation in Asia-Pacific region, has no intention whatsoever of trying to obstruct the interests of the Burmese people.

The Soviet Union is totally against, and objects to, coercion and pressure, and threats and interferences when sovereign and independent governments relate to one another. Moreover, the Soviet Union also objects to attempts to aggravate regional tensions and contradictions within a nation. From this point alone, it is evident that the Soviet approach is different from the U.S. policy that is being practiced until today. While Soviet spokesmen were urging restraint and the resolution of Burma's problems through nonviolent means, U.S. Representatives Solarz, Rohrabacher, and Moynihan were making statements which many believe tantamount to calls for the overthrow of the Burmese Government through the use of arms.

The U.S. propaganda machinery tries to convey the message that only the United States can be relied upon by the people of Burma in their quest for democracy. The U.S. approach regarding the events in Burma regretfully indicates that Washington is still exploiting democratic struggles and aggravating tensions in the region to expand its influence in Asia. To see the United States smearing other nations while undertaking this endeavor makes it even worse.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Envoy Interviewed on Geneva Accords

PM1705072789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 May 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Interview with 'Abdurrahim Hatif, chairman of the Afghan National Front Central Council, by own correspondent A. Nikolayev in Athens: "Victim of Propaganda"; date of interview not given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] Athens—A delegation of nongovernmental organizations from Afghanistan has arrived in Athens. IZVESTIYA's correspondent asked 'Abdurrahim Hatif, chairman of the Republic of Afghanistan National Front Central Council, who heads the delegation, to answer a number of questions.

[Nikolayev] What is the purpose of your visit to Greece? How is it associated with the present situation in Afghanistan?

[Hatif] We have arrived at the invitation of the Greek Committee for International Democracy and Solidarity to describe the development of the situation in and around Afghanistan since the signing of the Geneva agreements. To describe how they are being fulfilled by the Afghan Government and the Soviet Union and how they are being broken by Pakistan and the United States, which continue to interfere in Afghanistan's internal affairs and offer material assistance and territory to the implacables to enable them to freely infiltrate Afghanistan and to bring weapons and ammunition there.

[Nikolayev] What is your assessment of the Western countries' present stance on the Afghan issue?

[Hatif] I think that the Western countries must review their policy toward Afghanistan. Especially since the 2 months of fierce fighting outside Jalalabad. Prior to and during these events they clearly overestimated our opponents' potential and underestimated the forces of state power.

We are seeing this for ourselves here in Greece. We have received full understanding and support from all political parties—left-wing, right-wing, and centrist alike—as well as from mass organizations with which we have come in contact.

[Nikolayev] Is there any humanitarian and economic aid arriving in Afghanistan from Western countries via the United Nations?

[Hatif] Nothing but promises so far. Of course, a small amount of aid does arrive from them. But at the same time they produce excuses to continue giving support to Pakistan, just like in the past. Some say that the transportation of aid to Afghanistan is difficult due to the ongoing war. We hope that the West will not maintain this stance forever. By gradually realizing the main point—that state power in Afghanistan cannot be overthrown in a matter of days or months—the West will draw the conclusion that the best way to solve the problems is not war but talks taking the interests of all sides into account.

The West has fallen victim to its own propaganda, which claimed that the Afghan state was kept in power only under the protection of Soviet troops.

Having realized that state power in Afghanistan enjoys the people's support and is based on democratic principles, the West will be forced to change its policy.

Jalalabad Troops Force Retreat of Rebels

*LD1505121289 Moscow TASS in English 1145 GMT
15 May 89*

[Text] Kabul May 15 TASS—Four people were killed and eight injured on Sunday [14 May] as anti-government rebels supported by Pakistani artillery units continued shelling living quarters in the city of Jalalabad.

Meanwhile, units of Jalalabad garrison launched a successful counter-attack to the south-west, forcing the enemy to retreat from several enforced positions.

Some 200 missiles, several mortars and machine-guns, and large quantities of ammunition were captured.

Nearly 40 rebels were killed or injured as government troops destroyed a rebel unit near the Kabul-Jalalabad highway.

A total of 46 rebels were killed and 58 wounded, three long-range guns, several mortars and a tank were destroyed and three munitions depots were blown up as government air forces bombed rebel bases.

Mojahedeen rebels shelled several towns in Herat Province and Khowst District seriously injuring two civilians. In another development, seven rebels were killed and three injured in Javin [name as received] during a new round of violent clashes between warring rebel factions in Farah Province.

Afghan Interior Ministry operatives discovered a large arms cache near Gabhran in Kabul Province, seizing 54 mines, several kilograms of explosives and small arms ammunition.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry sent another three protest notes to the U.N. mission in Kabul citing new Pakistani violations of the Geneva accords.

Afghan Rebel Leader's Rejection of Talks Noted

*PM1705082389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 May 89 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS reports under the general heading "Another Assault Repelled"]

[Text] Kabul, 15 May—A new assault on the administrative center of the Afghan province of Nangarhar, the city of Jalalabad, planned by the rebels for 14 May, has failed. Troops from the Jalalabad garrison repelled all attacks and forced the antigovernment rebels to retreat from a number of positions they had taken earlier. The missile and artillery attack on residential quarters of Jalalabad is still continuing, causing casualties among women, children, and old people. In the last 48 hours alone, 7 civilians have been killed and 16 injured as a result of these barbaric attacks and six residential buildings have been destroyed.

More than 130 extremists have been killed and dozens wounded during successful counterattacks by Afghan troops in the southwest direction and aircraft bombing and interdiction against the second rebel echelon.

Units and subunits of the Afghan Army stationed in Khowst district have repelled a concentrated offensive by counterrevolutionary groups in the last 24 hours, knocking more than 500 rebels out of action.

Islamabad, 15 May—The "president" of the so-called "interim government," Mujadeddi, rejected the Soviet Union's proposal to hold an international conference to settle the situation in Afghanistan as "unacceptable" in an interview with a rebel news agency based in Peshawar. He said that "Afghans are determined to continue the armed struggle against the Kabul regime, and that is the only solution to the problem."

Pakistan Blamed for Geneva Accords Violations

*PM1605154589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 May 89 Second Edition p 5*

[Lieutenant General I. Perov article: "What Is Pakistan After? 15 May Is First Anniversary of Entry Into Force of Geneva Accords on Afghanistan"]

[Text] It is 3 months since the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from the territory of a state friendly to the Soviet Union finally ended. However, the desired peace in Afghanistan has not yet come. Our southern neighbor continues to be attacked by the armed counterrevolution actively supported by Pakistan, the United States, Saudi Arabia, and a number of other states.

The signing of the accords on Afghanistan in Geneva 14 April 1988 by full representatives of Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Soviet Union, and the United States with the active collaboration of UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar and his special representative Diego Cordovez was, by general recognition, an outstanding political act of the time. This event, which reflected the process of the gradual implementation in international relations of the Soviet concept of new political thinking, was expected to lead not only to a settlement of the protracted armed conflict in Afghanistan, but to provide corresponding impetus in the interests of solving crisis situations in other parts of the world.

Analysis of military-political events over the last year in the world gives grounds for supposing that the Geneva actions have indeed had a positive impact on the situation in a number of crisis regions—southern Africa, Cambodia, the Near East, and Central America. The example of Geneva has demonstrated the existence under present-day conditions of opportunities to find sensible ways out of what would seem to be dead-end situations. However, with regard to the main aim of the

Geneva accords—ensuring the implementation of relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan in strict accordance with the principle of noninterference and the rejection of intervention by states in other states' affairs—the hopes have not been justified.

The question arises: Why? The answer is now clear: Because Pakistan and the United States, in signing the accords, were determined in advance not to carry them out. For them the main aim was to get Soviet troops out of Afghanistan. Islamabad and Washington were counting on the Afghan regime not lasting even a few weeks without direct Soviet military support.

As the subsequent turn of events has shown, while Afghanistan and the Soviet Union have carried out all their commitments, Pakistan and the United States have almost wholly ignored their pledges on all points. There is now every basis for saying that the scale of interference by these and other states in the affairs of this sovereign state—which is what Afghanistan undoubtedly is—has not only remained at the same level over the past year, but has even increased. Moreover, with the return home of Soviet troops, our southern neighbor found itself faced by expanding direct military aggression from the Pakistani military and reactionary regimes cooperating with it. This is a blatant violation not only of the provisions of the bilateral agreement, but of the declaration on international guarantees.

In violation of the Geneva accords, Pakistan has not eliminated the extensive infrastructure which it had created on its territory together with Afghan antigovernment forces to wage war against the Afghan regime. Around 180 Afghan rebel training centers—where military instructors from Pakistan, the United States, Saudi Arabia, and a number of other states help to simultaneously train 15-20,000 Afghans hired for money or press-ganged from the refugees who have settled during the years of the undeclared war against Afghanistan in the North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, and other parts of Pakistan—are still operating on Pakistani territory in regions bordering Afghanistan. Hardly a single training center operating before the signing of the Geneva accords has been closed or even relocated. Moreover, in recent months similar new centers have been opened. The rebels' military training has also been expanded at Pakistani Army military training centers. Thus, the Pakistani Interdepartmental Intelligence Agency Directorate and the leadership of the counterrevolutionary "Alliance of Seven" agreed the other day to send up to 8,000 Afghans to Pakistani military training centers. These men, having completed a 3- or 10-month training course, would make up the backbone of the so-called counterrevolutionary "regular army." According to existing figures, the United States has also organized the training of specialists for this "army"—pilots, in particular.

Pakistan continues to be the base through which the bulk of weapons for the Afghan groupings flow. Weapons, munitions, equipment, and other combat materials enter

the Pakistani Army's central and corps dumps, and from them move to staging posts and dumps providing supplies to "Alliance of Seven" gangs operating on Afghan territory. These gangs, as is well known, are wholly controlled by the Pakistani authorities, in particular by the Interdepartmental Intelligence Agency.

Counterrevolutionary arms shipments via Pakistan have in no way diminished and have noticeably increased in a number of areas. A comparative assessment of the progress of these shipments through the Pakistani port of Karachi in December 1988-April 1989 alone shows a more than threefold increase in the volume of military cargo compared with the same period last year. And far more of the rockets used by the antigovernment forces for the mass shelling of Jalalabad, Khowst, Qandahar, Kabul, and other peaceful Afghan cities have started being delivered.

The agreement between the United States, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan on transporting cargo for the Afghan counterrevolution across Pakistani territory remains in force. Several C-141 and C-130 plane loads of weapons and munitions from the United States and Saudi Arabia arrived in Islamabad in late April alone. Large stockpiles of arms, which the Pakistani Armed Forces National Rear Services are delivering in large consignments to areas bordering or directly on Afghan territory, are concentrated at staging bases in the Rawalpindi region.

The headquarters of the "Alliance of Seven" and the groupings comprising it continues to operate in Pakistan. Since February this year the so-called "transitional government" with pretensions to international recognition has been located there. All this, too, in no way squares with the Pakistani representative's signature to the Geneva documents.

Many other examples could be cited of Pakistan's blatant violation of the Geneva accords. However, it is now important to focus attention on such a relatively new and highly dangerous area of Pakistan's anti-Afghan activity as the direct participation by Pakistani servicemen in combat operations against Afghan forces directly in Afghanistan. There are already plenty of examples of this participation. According to various sources, in Nangarhar Province and Khowst District alone, where there has recently been fierce fighting between government troops and rebel formations, the rebel side has been joined by several thousand Pakistani servicemen wearing the uniforms of Pakistani irregulars—the so-called militia. Cases of direct Pakistani military aggression were confirmed during the recent examination of this issue at the UN Security Council.

The Pakistani side's intentions are attested by the Afghan Government's 2 May statement, which states that "15,000 Pakistani servicemen in militia uniforms have undergone military training and have received the necessary logistical backup for a new Pakistani military

offensive against Afghanistan." The Afghan Government statement directly points out that the Pakistani military intends to use approximately the same scenario as that employed during the 1947 aggression in Kashmir, when Pakistani soldiers disguised as tribal formations were also used.

The fact that Pakistan is now the main advocate and organizer of the aggression against Afghanistan clearly leaves nobody in any doubt. One need only recall the NEW YORK TIMES report of 23 April on how the decision to attack Jalalabad was made at a 5 March session of Pakistani civilian and military leaders. This is also shown by the increasingly self-confident statements being made by G. Hikmatyar, A.R. Sayyaf, and other "Alliance of Seven" leaders. Thus, Hikmatyar recently stated in Peshawar that "Only war will decide the country's fate. The road to peace in Afghanistan lies through war."

At the same time the course of events over the last 3 months shows that it has not been so easy for the Afghan counterrevolution and its sponsors, first and foremost Pakistan, to achieve their desired goals. Jalalabad, Khowst, Qandahar, Gardeyz, and other important centers are still standing. The Afghan Army's combat skills and morale are increasing. There is growing support for Kabul's consistent course of establishing peace in the country. More and more ordinary Afghans are condemning Pakistan's aggressive actions and are expressing a desire to fight the aggressor. Many ordinary mujahidin and counterrevolutionary field commanders are beginning to see for themselves that it is pointless to continue the fratricidal war. There is also a growing realization in the international arena of the danger of Islamabad's policy on the "Afghan issue."

Clearly, all this is increasingly alarming Pakistan and its leaders. The sharp upsurge seen in recent days in the anti-Soviet propaganda campaign in the Pakistani mass media is a sign of this alarm. The Soviet Union and its leaders are being accused of failing to observe (!) the Geneva accords, of continuing (!) the war in Afghanistan, and of other nonexistent sins. The newspaper NATION in an article entitled "Who Killed President Ziaul Haq and How" even went so far as to accuse the Soviet special services and Soviet leaders, who allegedly sanctioned the act, of killing the dictator who had seized power in 1977 following a military coup. No less biased and hysterical is the article by Kalim Omar [name as transliterated] in the 26 April 1989 edition of THE MUSLIM, in which the author, using M.S. Gorbachev's reply to the appeal from well-known Pakistani politician Abdul Wali Khan, tries to provide a "basis" for Islamabad's policy and actions with regard to Afghanistan. And the Pakistani leaders themselves have recently been making more and more frequent attacks on the Afghan Government—attacks that sit uneasily with their status and state commitments.

Just what is Pakistan after in so pointedly ignoring the Geneva Accords that it signed on Afghanistan and expanding its own participation in aggression against its northern neighbor—Afghanistan?

Judging by everything, in abandoning its commitments on Afghanistan, Islamabad is still counting on a mujahidin military victory. This would give Pakistan the chance to solve several problems at once: to install a puppet government in Kabul, turning Afghanistan into a satellite state; to reinforce the currently disputed Pakistani-Afghan border along the so-called "Durand Line"; and to try to set up some kind of Pakistani-Afghan confederation.

By continuing the war against Afghanistan, the Pakistani regime is counting on maintaining and prolonging its most-favored-nation status in relations with the United States, particularly regarding obtaining U.S. military and economic aid.

By supporting the Afghan counterrevolutionary forces, Pakistan is also playing the "Islamic card" and posing as a "defender of Islam," which brings it definite material advantage.

Thus, Islamabad's ruling circles are by no means concerned about the fate of the Afghan people. As was stressed in the 2 May Afghan Government statement, "Pakistan has immorally turned the interests of international peace and security into a plaything for its aggressive and expansionist goals."

It is quite obvious that Pakistan's aggressive military measures with regard to our southern neighbor are making the development of the military-political situation in the region unpredictable. This brings with it a serious threat to regional peace and international security. The Soviet Union is attentively monitoring the Pakistani military's attempts to wreck the plans for a political settlement in Afghanistan and to fan still further the flames of war in that land.

U.S. Arms Shipments to Afghan Rebels Criticized
PM1605121589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[V. Matveyev "Political Observer's Opinion": "What They Are Gambling On..."]

[Text] Among the sober voices in the West, pointing out the need for the governments concerned to take decisive action to end the bloodshed in Afghanistan, notably through the United Nations, you cannot fail to notice a recent statement made in New York by Sadruddin Agha Khan, special coordinator of UN programs to bring humanitarian and economic aid to Afghanistan. According to him, "more rather than fewer people are now dying" in Afghanistan, and this is due to the flood of arms entering the country. In this connection, Agha Khan mentioned the sharp contrast between the Soviet

Union and the United States regarding the humanitarian aid program to Afghanistan. The comparison, he made clear, is not in the United States' favor. "We must not forget the broad consequences attendant on a refusal to seek peace in Afghanistan," the Agha Khan warned. "The continuation of the war is not in anyone's interests."

For obvious reasons, this influential figure did not elaborate on the role played by the United States in arms supplies to extremist Afghan opposition formations. However, this subject is being discussed ever more vocally in the United States itself. In a recent television report, American journalist R. Fo [name as published] said that "since the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, many blame the United States for the continuing slaughter. People are asking in the bazaars and mosques: Why is the United States continuing to supply the mujahidin with the weapons which allow them to wage war? 'An American missile fired at this mosque killed 40 people,' an Afghan trader told this correspondent in an interview. 'Why is the U.S. president bringing us death?' U.S. policy in relation to Afghanistan ignores the realities, brings death, and is alienating some groups of the population, American experts believe."

That is the testimony of an American journalist and needs no comment.

The U.S. press has just reported a recent speech by CIA Director W. Webster to members of the U.S. Intelligence Retirees' Association. It adds some noteworthy features to Washington's current policy in relation to Afghanistan. The head of this department said that covert CIA operations there "were the most successful in U.S. history." According to him, the CIA subdivision concerned was reinforced by approximately 100 additional operational associates for this purpose. In this connection, Webster said that covert operations "are one of the most effective areas of U.S. intelligence activity, because they can promote the country's foreign policy course in those cases where diplomatic and other measures fail to produce the necessary result."

At this point some comment is necessary. The question immediately arises: Is the CIA continuing these operations in Afghanistan? The general tone of the CIA chief's speech gives us reason to believe that they have not stopped. Consequently, this official U.S. establishment bears direct responsibility for the deaths of many people on Afghan soil. This is what the phrase "CIA successes" really means!

Material appearing in the American press shows that Washington is now simply modifying some of the ways and methods of supplying American weapons to the mujahidin. NEW YORK TIMES correspondent G. Kifner [name as published] reported from Peshawar at the end of April that, in order to "enhance the authority"

of the "interim government" formed in Pakistan, Washington intends to supply weapons directly to Afghan opposition rebel groups via this "government" rather than through Pakistani intelligence, as has hitherto been the practice.

So, the essence of its policy remains unchanged. Its creators across the ocean, as we can see, are gambling on something that means new suffering and new casualties for the bulk of the Afghan population.

Seven-Party Alliance Prepares for 'Adventurism'
*NC1205175289 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT
12 May 89*

[Igor Sheftunov commentary]

[Excerpts] IRNA [Islamic Republic News Agency] has reported that Zabihollah Mujadeddi who calls himself the secretary general of the so-called National Front for the Salvation of Afghanistan, attended a news conference in Tehran in connection with the formation of this front's representation offices in Iran. Our commentator Igor Sheftunov writes about this:

Mujadeddi's group and the six other Afghan opposition groups based in Pakistan have formed the seven-party alliance which formed the so-called interim government 3 months ago. Sebghatullah Mujadeddi, the father of Zabihollah, was appointed as president of this interim government. The newly-assigned president sent his son to Tehran in order to set up representation offices for the group which he represents. These representation offices have been assigned to prepare the groundwork for effective cooperation with the eight Afghan groups based in Iran, and with those Iranian sources from which the seven-party alliance could receive assistance. After his arrival in Tehran, Zabihollah Mujadeddi immediately started to carry out his father's orders. In a statement in Tehran in front of the members of the Afghan opposition and the Iranians supporting it, he said: We call on you to be partners in the destiny of the seven-party alliance.

At this point it should be noted that the destiny of the seven-party alliance based in Peshawar is extremely deplorable; and this destiny is the outcome of the aggressive policy of its extremist leaders, namely, Mujadeddi's family. [passage omitted]

The extremists are now futilely preparing to carry out new adventurism. This is why Burhanuddin Rabbani, one of the leaders of the seven-party alliance, was sent to Tehran from Peshawar. He was instructed to talk with the leaders of the eight Afghan opposition groups based in Iran. During their meetings, Rabbani and Mujadeddi persistently called on the representatives of the eight groups to cooperate with them. The objective of this cooperation was not kept secret. Rabbani stated that currently the objective is to prepare conditions favorable to reattack Jalalabad and to occupy other Afghan cities.

The representation offices of the group which is a member of the Peshawar-based seven-party alliance and is headed by the Mujadeddi family should help to advance this objective. These offices were formed in Tehran and Mashhad this week. They have been tasked with trying to gain the cooperation of the Iran-based eight Afghan opposition groups in the war against Afghanistan or—as stated by Zabihollah Mujadeddi—to be partners in the destiny of the seven-party alliance. But the destiny of the extremist leaders of the seven-party alliance based in Peshawar is so futile that only adventurists with no sense of realism can accept this call.

Indian Prime Minister Welcomes Beijing Summit
LD1505172689 Moscow TASS in English 1614 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] New Delhi May 15 TASS—Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi welcomed the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting which has begun in the Chinese capital on Monday.

Speaking before members of the parliamentary group of the ruling Indian National Congress (I) today, the Indian leader expressed hope that the Beijing talks will help strengthen peace throughout the world and achieve unity in Asia.

Gandhi conveyed his best wishes to the Soviet and Chinese leaders in connection with the summit.

Iranian Prime Minister Receives Soviet Delegation
LD1605164889 Moscow TASS in English 1630 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Tehran May 16 TASS—Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran Mir Hoseyn Musavi, received on Tuesday a Soviet delegation staying here on an official visit. The delegation is led by Nikolay Konarev, chairman of the Soviet part of the permanent Soviet-Iranian Commission on Economic Cooperation, USSR minister of railways.

During a meeting which passed in a friendly and constructive atmosphere, the sides expressed satisfaction with the development of ties between the USSR and Iran and mutual striving for the further deepening of commercial and economic cooperation.

Vladimir Gudev, USSR ambassador to Iran, took part in the meeting.

Hashemi-Rafsanjani's Call for Terrorism Viewed
NC1305091989 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 12 May 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] In this part of our program we want to discuss the issue of terrorism once again, and this time in relation to the recent calls by Iranian Majlis Speaker 'Ali Hashemi-Rafsanjani.

Rafsanjani has called on the Palestinians to murder Americans, Frenchmen, and Britons and to thus avenge the victims sacrificed by the Palestinian nation in the territories occupied by Israel because of the Zionists' suppressive acts.

Before anything else, we should say that the Palestinian leadership, represented by Yasir 'Arafat, decisively rejected terrorism as a form of political struggle.

'Ali Rafsanjani's remarks, on the whole, elicited a strong and negative world reaction. Even though the world's public in general feels solidarity toward the Palestinian uprising, Rafsanjani's call, nevertheless, was considered not only to be an effort to revive international terrorism, but also to be inopportune and dangerous.

Actually what the Hojjat ol-Eslam is proposing cancels every serious and extensive activity that the PLO has carried out with the aim of establishing peace in the Near East. After all, Shamir and his gang are refusing to talk to the PLO because they condemn it as being a terrorist organization. Of course, today, after Algeria and Geneva, and after 'Arafat's visit to France, the Zionists are finding it more and more difficult to divert world public opinion. But Mr 'Ali Rafsanjani's remarks on this is giving them the necessary help in their effort to do so.

As most observers have pointed out, 'Ali Rafsanjani's call stems, first and foremost, from differences within the Iranian domestic political scene. But the question is: Who can guarantee that among the Palestinians there will not be a few hotheads who are unaware of politics and who will take Tehran's remarks seriously? Thus, a serious blow will be inflicted on the policy that the PLO has now adopted and that is slowly and patiently trying to build up peace in the Near East. There are many statesmen in Washington who will be overjoyed to find a pretext on which to condemn the PLO of terrorism and to stop the Palestinians' peaceful offensive.

But, fortunately, the era of such tactics is over. The method of new political thought is sinking deeper and deeper into the minds of statesmen. The Palestinian people and their sole legal representative—the PLO—have chosen a policy of peace and want to continue on this path until the end.

Yazov's Cable on Khayrallah's Death Cited
JN0705092489 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0900 GMT 7 May 89

[Text] Baghdad, 7 May (INA)—His Excellency President Saddam Husayn has received a cable of condolences from USSR Defense Minister General Dimitriy Yazov on the death of the late staff general, deputy commander in chief of the Armed Forces, and defense minister. The cable of condolences states: We were deeply saddened when we learned of the tragic death of Staff General 'Adnan Khayrallah. May Your Excellency accept our

heartfelt condolences and convey the feelings of sincere compassion to the relatives and kinsmen of the deceased. Please accept our best regards.

Army General Aleksey Lizichev Visits Algeria

Meets Military Leaders

LD1005165689 Moscow TASS in English 1348 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Algiers May 10 TASS—Abdelhamid Mehri, general secretary of Algeria's National Liberation Front (NLF) Central Committee, received Army General Aleksey Lizichev, head of the main political department of the Soviet Army and Navy, now on an official visit here.

Colonel Yahia Rahal, head of the Political Commissariat of the National People's Army of Algeria Central Department, was present at the meeting.

Lizichev also met General Khaled Nezzar, chief of staff of the Algerian National People's Army.

Ends Algerian Visit

LD1105140789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1226 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Algiers, 11 May (TASS)—The visit by Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, has ended.

Army Gen A.D. Lizichev left for the homeland today. He was seen off at Algiers International Airport by General Alleg, general director of mobilization and people's defense, and Colonel Y. Rahal, general director of the Army Political Department.

East Europe

New SFRY Presidency President Interviewed

LD1505193789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 15 May 89

[Excerpts] Today, the Yugoslav Federal Assembly confirmed a new composition of the Presidency of the SFRY. This is what (Viktor Nogin) our Belgrade correspondent, says:

[Nogin] According to the Constitution, a new composition of the Yugoslav Presidency for the next 5 years has been elected. [passage omitted] Janez Drnovsek, Slovenia's representative, is the new president of the Presidency. Not long before today I had a chance to meet Janez Drnovsek, and I interviewed him.

[Begin Drnovsek recording in Slovene, fading into Russian translation] I am an optimist. Even in this very complex situation, in particular with regard to the economy, I am confident that Yugoslavia will find ways out from the crisis. In my new post I will, of course, strain maximum efforts in order to completely promote this. I

think that on the threshold of the 21st century, Yugoslavia will fully resolve its economic problems and that it will even surpass a number of European countries, which it is so far lagging behind. We will have to raise the efficiency of our work, and make fuller use of our rich potential. I am confident that all the differences and problems we have will be tackled in an atmosphere of calm dialogue. Apart from this, Yugoslavia will participate more actively in the process of European economic integration. [end recording]

Answering in this connection the question concerning the prospects of developing Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation, Janez Drnovsek noted that relations between our countries, both political and economic, are traditionally good, and that they will continue to develop in the same, successful way. I follow with great attention and interest the restructuring which is underway in the USSR, and I think that the Soviet-Yugoslav exchange of experience is very useful, both for the Soviet Union and for Yugoslavia, and that it promotes further strengthening of our all-round relations, Comrade Drnovsek said.

GDR Naval Unit Visits Leningrad

LD1505184889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1536 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—The current visit by a fleet unit of the GDR naval forces to the hero city of Leningrad is a visible expression of the steadfast friendship and comradeship in arms between the USSR and the GDR, as well as between their armies and fleets. Admiral of the Fleet Vladimir Chernavin, deputy Soviet minister of defense and commander in chief of the USSR Navy, and the leader of a delegation of admirals and officers from the GDR People's Navy, led by Vice Admiral Theodor Hoffmann, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the People's Navy, stated this today during talks in Moscow. The visit characterized the high level of integration by the GDR People's Navy in the coalition of the Warsaw Pact.

The same opinions were also held on the socialist armed forces continuing to keep their high degree of responsibility for safeguarding the military strategic balance, and thus for the preservation of peace.

The two sides declared themselves in favor of taking further security and confidence-building measures on the seas in the disarmament process between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, as well as including the air and naval forces in the negotiating process.

Residents Invited Aboard

LD1305063789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0204 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] A detachment of ships of the People's Navy of the German Democratic Republic is in Leningrad on an official visit. This is the seventh visit by GDR ships to the city on the Neva. Leningrad residents will today go

on board the two patrol escort and amphibious warfare ships at the invitation of the command officers. For their part, the GDR sailors will acquaint themselves with the sights of the city and its revolutionary monuments, visit museums, and meet their comrades-in-arms.

Leadership Telegram to CSSR on Liberation Day
*LD0805140789 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1301 GMT 8 May 89*

[Text] Moscow, 8 May, (TASS)—The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers today sent a congratulatory telegram to Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee; Gustav Husak, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; and Ladislav Adamec, premier of the government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which states:

Dear comrades!

On the occasion of a national holiday—the 44th anniversary of the victorious conclusion to the national liberation struggle and the liberation of Czechoslovakia from the fascist invaders—we send cordial greetings and best wishes to you and the fraternal Czechoslovak people.

The liberation from the yoke of Hitlerism and the resurrection of an independent Czechoslovak state on a national democratic basis in May 1945 opened up new historical opportunities for Czechoslovakia. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the working people carried out profound socioeconomic transformations and enriched world socialism with valuable experience.

Soviet people treasure the traditions of fraternal friendship and close cooperation with Czechoslovakia. We are convinced that the restructuring processes being implemented by our parties and countries will create the necessary conditions for a further increase in the effectiveness of Soviet-Czechoslovak interaction in the political, economic, and spiritual spheres, and for the growth of joint efforts in international affairs aimed at ensuring peace and security for all mankind.

On this significant day we wish you, dear comrades, and all Czechoslovak working people, successes in socialist construction, happiness, peace, and prosperity.

West Europe

UK Opposition Party Changes Defense Policy
*PM1205092589 Moscow PRAVA in Russian
11 May 89 Second Edition p 5*

[Unnamed Own Correspondent report: "Labour Party Decision"]

[Text] London, 10 May—The Labour Party National Executive Committee [NEC] voted by 17 to 8 yesterday for a change in its defense policy—the abandonment of unilateral nuclear disarmament.

Labour's new platform provides for the inclusion of Britain's existing Polaris nuclear missiles and Trident, their eventual replacement, in the process of strategic arms reduction talks. If those arms reduction talks between the USSR and the United States do not lead to a result, the resolution approved by the NEC notes, Britain will enter into bilateral talks with the USSR on this question. The Laborites state that they support the elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000. They reject the NATO doctrine of "flexible response," which allows for the first use of nuclear weapons, as well as the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons.

Press commentaries note that this change in the defense policy reflects the sentiments of the majority of the British electorate, two-thirds of whom advocate the retention of nuclear weapons so long as other countries possess them. Commentators also draw attention to the fact that the leadership's decision has aroused criticism from the left wing of the Labour Party and a number of affiliated trade unions.

Papandreou Opposes Missile Modernization
*LD1405102189 Moscow TASS in English 1007 GMT
14 May 89*

[Text] Athens May 14 TASS—Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou has firmly declared against modernisation of tactical nuclear missiles stationed in Western Europe, on which the United States and Britain insist.

"Greece says 'no' to modernisation of nuclear arms and 'yes' to peace and disarmament," he said in a speech at an election meeting in the city of Kavalla in the country's northeast.

Papandreou also pointed out that the Greek Government wanted the establishment of relations of trust and cooperation between the peoples of the Balkan peninsula.

"We strive to turn the Balkan powder keg from an intranquil [as received] region into a region of peace and firendship," he stated.

In this connection the Greek leader said that the positions of Greece and Bulgaria on these critical important issues coincide, "which contributes to strengthening our security and territorial integrity."

Spanish Communist Leader on NATO Arms Plans
*LD1605063489 Moscow TASS in English 0618 GMT
16 May 89*

[Text] Madrid May 16 TASS—By TASS correspondent Robert Serebrennikov:

The Soviet decision to unilaterally withdraw 500 tactical nuclear weapons from the territory of its allies in 1989 is a new step to promote disarmament and another sign of Soviet goodwill, Spanish Communist Party leader Julio Anguita told TASS.

The alarming NATO response to the latest Soviet proposals on nuclear and conventional arms reductions was prompted exclusively by the interests of the U.S. military-industrial complex, he said.

Spanish Communists adamantly oppose NATO plans to modernise short-range nuclear missiles imposed on the alliance by the United States and supported by Britain, he said.

It is a paradox to speak of modernising nuclear arms when the Soviet Union is taking unilateral steps to reduce its armed forces and military budget and pull out its troops and weapons from the territory of its allies, he said.

Plans to modernise short-range nuclear missiles run contrary to the Soviet-U.S. intermediate range nuclear forces treaty (INF), the Spanish Communist leader said.

Anguita called on the European Economic Community to promote disarmament and oppose attempts to start a new round of the nuclear arms race.

Spanish Defense Minister Interview on Armed Forces
LD1405220389 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1400 GMT 14 May 89

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Igor Kudrin]

[Excerpts] [Kudrin] Narciso Serra, Spain's defense minister is taking part in our program today. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent Valentin Gorkayev] The specific tasks of the armed forces, expressed in the strategic context, are of course highly secret. In the Spanish press, however, one can read that attention is concentrated on the defense of the eastern coastline and the Balearic Islands-Gibraltar-Canary Islands axis. A strike group of modern warships with the recently launched aircraft carrier the Principe de Asturias at its head is being established. The air force is being equipped with the latest F-18A fighters purchased from the United States. Spain is now taking an active part in developing the European fighter of the nineties, it is to choose a modern tank type and supply it to the army, and it is also taking part in the European frigate project. Rapid response forces are also being set up. [video shows clips of troops, naval vessels, and fighter aircraft]

Of course, military men have always preferred to have the most modern weapons at their disposal. Each year, however, this gets more and more expensive. Over the next 6 years Spain will spend about 3 quadrillion pesetas on the modernization of its army, 1 quadrillion more than over the past 6 years.

[Serra] The Spanish Government and I personally are concerned over the fact that enormous sums are being spent for military purposes, sums that could be used for other purposes, social purposes, for example, medical services, and education. At any rate I have to say that the Spanish military budget is regulated by law which provides for an increase in military expenditure of 2.5 percent per annum in real terms. This is an extremely modest increase, at least it is less than the growth in gross national product. Two percent of gross national product for defense purposes is several times less than is the case, say, in the United States or the USSR. I consider, therefore, that if there is a country that relates its military expenditure to its real possibilities and considers that security must be strengthened by means of talks and not just through the purchase of new armaments, then that country is Spain.

[Gorkayev] Mr minister, it seems that the world, too, is changing. You are going to the Soviet Union and this is the first visit in history to our country by a Spanish defense minister. On the international scene the first agreement in history has been achieved on disarmament in medium- and shorter-range missiles. What prospects do you see for further disarmament as a man who is perhaps capable of judging the subject in a more well-founded way?

[Serra] We countries of Western Europe want an agreement on reducing strategic missiles by 50 percent to be achieved as soon as possible. I think that after the meeting in Paris work is going well on working out a treaty on the complete destruction of chemical weapons. Disagreements can be overcome at the Vienna talks on reducing conventional weapons, and that can be done within a reasonable time-scale. I think that the prospects that are opening up are extremely important and we who are responsible for the talks must justify the hopes of citizens for a qualitatively new period of security throughout the world. [video shows Serra speaking to a correspondent before the camera] [passage omitted]

[Kudrin] Generally speaking it is not difficult to find contradictions in what is said by people connected with armaments and defense. On the one hand they understand the threat posed by present-day warfare; on the other they themselves have to prepare for it because that's their job. Furthermore in listening to Narciso Serra we won't forget that Spain's Armed Forces were one of the main supports of Francoism. Even today one feels nostalgia for the times of the dictatorship among certain parts of the military. Politicians, therefore, have to apply particular cunning in order to hold those in uniforms back from steps that could have unforeseen

consequences for the young Spanish democracy. In this sense the increasingly close drawing together of the Spanish Armed Forces with NATO is an ideal means.

Here is the latest authoritative evidence of this: I am confident that the Spanish Armed Forces, like the French Armed Forces, will be on our side in the event of an emergency or of war. Insofar as these words were spoken by General Galvin, supreme commander in chief of the NATO joint forces in Europe, it is not difficult to guess which war he has in mind and against whom. Incidentally the general himself once took part in our panorama. Straight from the NATO maneuvers and wearing field uniform he gave an interview to our correspondent which was surprising in its peace-loving tone. A week later I read an interview by him in a Western newspaper. Quite the opposite. Galvin discarded not just his mask and his uniform but all those cautious words he had spoken just before. Such is one's duty. Richard Cheney, the U.S. secretary of defense recently took a step which brought about a shock in the United States. I would describe it as an attack upon our restructuring, for the secretary said it would not last long. True, in Moscow this week during the Soviet-U.S. talks with James Baker, the U.S. secretary of state, it was pleasant to learn that this forecast is just the personal opinion of the secretary and does not reflect the view of the U.S. Administration. [passage omitted]

Radio, TV Agreement Signed With Spain

LD1505203189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Talks were held in Moscow between representatives of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the radio and television of Spain. During the talks an agreement was reached on regular exchange of catalogues of films and programs and on organization of special viewing of television production.

Improvements for Ethnic Germans in USSR Promised

AU1305152889 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network
in German 0900 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Kvitsinski, USSR ambassador to Bonn, has promised improvements for ethnic Germans in the Soviet Union. Kvitsinski told the WESTFAELISCHE RUND-SCHAU, which is published in Dortmund, that the Moscow government is ready to establish conditions under which cultural, linguistic, religious, educational, and autonomy issues will be taken more into account. At the same time, however, the diplomat doubted that the wave of resettlers coming to the FRG will be decidedly curbed by Soviet concessions in culture and religion. The main reason they want to emigrate to the FRG is a striving for a higher standard of living, he stated.

Soviet-FRG Publishing House Set Up

LD1205205189 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1146 GMT 12 May 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, 12 May (TASS)—The new joint Soviet-West German publishing house "Rus-Verlag" will publish and distribute Soviet sociopolitical and fictional literature. The agreement to set it up was signed in Moscow today. Those setting it up are the "Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga" association and Greno GMBH of Bavaria. The Soviet side owns 49 percent of the investment and the West German side 51 percent.

"We already have experience of publishing Soviet literature," Franz Greno, head of the West German firm said in a conversation with a TASS correspondent. [passage omitted] "We shall be publishing books in the FRG and we will open an office in Moscow. Rus-Verlag will have its own exhibits at the Moscow international book fair which is due to take place in September of this year."

In the Soviet Union there are 11 joint enterprises in operation which are engaged in publishing activity. Experts believe that the number of them will increase thanks among other things to the fact that a number of measures have been taken in the country which make it easier for them to be set up and to function. The rights of publishing houses have been extended. They have been given the right to establish direct economic links with foreign partners.

Joint Soviet-FRG Computer Program Venture

18250158 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 11 May 89 p 3

[TASS Report: "A Lofty Reputation"]

[Text] Offenbach (FRG), 10 May: Can Soviet specialists develop computer programs which are as good as Western models? They can. And the successful activity of the Soviet-West German-Hungarian "Intercomputer" enterprise testifies to this.

The Soviet cofounder of the joint enterprise, the main information center of the Donetsk oblast ispolkom [executive committee] has studied the development of computer programs and apparatus for Soviet clients for 8 years now.

Here is what Manfred (Flikshu), FRG representative has to say upon arrival in Donetsk to study the work of this center: "I had not expected to meet such well-qualified specialists. Their production has every chance of competing well in Western markets. We therefore decided to create a joint venture."

The West German partner is the engineering firm of "Apeg," which has a branch in Hungary. Its main function in the joint venture is to study the markets, establish business contacts and open doors of West German and other companies for "Intercomputer." Not

only companies from FRG, but from the United States, Canada, Switzerland and Japan have shown great interest in certain programs developed by Soviet specialists. Approximately 100 contracts for the sale of the joint enterprise's programs have already been drawn.

Incidentally, "Intercomputer" has problems as well. Unfortunately, for the most part, they are related to the inertia and sluggishness of certain Soviet republic departments and the lack of clarity in legislation on joint enterprises.

Political & Social

Further Reportage on Repeat Election Results

PM1705092389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 May 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Feature comprising Moscow dispatch by A. Davydov, Leningrad dispatch by D. Yefremov, Kiev dispatch by N. Baklanov, Minsk dispatch by M. Shimanskiy, Alma-Ata dispatch by V. Ardayev and E. Matskevich, Lvov dispatch by V. Vukovich, and Dushanbe dispatch by A. Karpov under general headline: "Repeat Elections"]

[Text] On 14 May voters in 198 of the country's okrugs casts their votes again. Repeat elections were held where deputies failed to be elected last time, on 26 March. What are the results of the current round? Our correspondents report:

Moscow

In three okrugs people voted again. In all of them without exception there was intensive competition between the candidates. In Kuntsevskiy Okrug there were 7 candidates, in Lyublinskiy Okrug 9 candidates, and in Proletarskiy Okrug 10 candidates. As you can see, voters had a wide choice (on 26 March only 2 candidates stood in each of these okrugs). In Kuntsevskiy Okrug alone, for instance, the right to win the deputy mandate was contested by B. Bondarev, director general of the "VILS" science and production association; V. Romashkin, worker at the "Elektroshchit" plant; poet A. Demyanov; playwright M. Shatrov; Hero of the Soviet Union A. Rutskoy; journalist V. Logunov; and Doctor of Juridical Sciences V. Savitskiy.

"As is known, when there are many candidates it is almost impossible to obtain a final result in one round," V. Kukhianidze, chairman of the No 26 polling station electoral commission in Kuntsevskiy Okrug told me. "And judging by the way people are voting today, participation in the elections is somewhat lower than 26 March. By 1700 hours only 63 percent of voters had turned out."

In fact, despite passions running high during the election campaign, the turnout on 14 May left much to be desired. According to the final figures, considerably fewer citizens came to the polling places than some 6 weeks ago. As a result, none of the candidates gained the requisite number of votes. However, since the turnout exceeded 50 percent, runoffs are to be held. The candidates for whom voters showed a definite preference will take part in them. In Kuntsevskiy Okrug it will be V. Logunov and A. Rutskoy; in Lyublinskiy Okrug Yu. Vlasov, chairman of the USSR Weight-Lifting Federation, and journalist V. Shinkaretskiy; and in Proletarskiy Okrug N. Shinayev, an official of the Maritime and River Fleet Workers Union Central Committee, and A. Samsonov, director of the No 1 Moscow clock and watch plant.

Leningrad

The counting of votes at four Leningrad okrug electoral commissions did not end until around 10 o'clock in the morning. In Leningradskiy City National-Territorial Okrug No 19, 28 candidates contested the USSR people's deputy seat. Originally there had been 34 candidates, but 6 of them withdrew their candidacies prior to the elections. In three territorial okrugs voters had to make an additional choice from 8-10 candidates. They were given two ballot papers just as on 26 March.

In the morning it was relatively quiet, some people obviously decided to sleep in while others were busy with household chores, and then it started drizzling. But when the influx of voters started building up, lines formed at many polling places in front of the booths. Even where there was only one ballot paper, it was necessary to cross out 27 names! There was a catastrophic shortage of booths, so tables were put up alongside. Wherever possible, rooms were made available for casting the vote.

Voters staunchly put up with the inconvenience. There were virtually no complaints about the way voting was organized.

In Leningradskiy City National-Territorial Okrug No 19, Muscovite N. Ivanov, USSR Prosecutor's Office investigator, was elected USSR people's deputy.

In the territorial okrugs no candidate managed to win the requisite number of votes and Leningraders will have to go to the polling stations once more next Sunday for the runoffs.

Kiev

The greatest interest in Kiev focused on the results of the elections in National-Territorial Okrug No 33, where 33 candidates were standing.

"No candidate managed to win more than the 50 percent of votes required to be elected deputy and so a runoff has been scheduled for 21 May," I. Chub, milling machine operator at the "Arsenal" plant and chairman of the city okrug electoral commission, announced on Monday morning. The final results are still being clarified, but on the basis of available information it is possible to say that the biggest number of votes has been won by Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Chernyak, chief of a department at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences Economics Institute, and V. Karpenko, editor of the newspaper VECHERNIY KIEV, who will continue their contest for the seat.

Minsk

Repeat elections of USSR people's deputies were held 14 May in 10 okrugs in Belorussia. Let me say outright that voters were spoiled for choices. There were 52 candidates for 10 seats.

So what are the results of the repeat elections in the republic? USSR people's deputies were elected in four okrugs. In Baranovichskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 75, V.A. Zalomay, secretary of the Brest Oblast Party Committee was elected USSR people's deputy. In Pinskiy Territorial Okrug No 550, V.I. Burskiy, chairman of the Brest Oblast Soviet Executive Committee, was elected. Four candidates stood in Minskiy-Zavodskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 65. Voters showed a preference for N.I. Ignatovich, Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Prosecutor's Office investigator for especially serious cases. In Vitebskiy City Territorial Okrug No 551, G.I. Artemenko, arc welder team leader at the Vitebsk No 9 City Construction Trust's No 146 Construction Administration, won the seat.

In six okrugs no candidate won the requisite number of votes. Runoffs will be held in these okrugs 21 May.

Alma-Ata

In 5 okrugs where there were more than 2 candidates (the biggest number was 11 candidates), no candidate won the requisite number of votes. Runoffs are to be held 21 May.

However, in six okrugs deputies were elected. They include S. Ayapbergenov, shepherd on the "Sarbulakskiy" state farm, Chelkarskiy rayon, Aktyubinsk oblast; T. Makhhanov, chief physician at the Kzyl-Orda oblast hospital; S. Tkachenko, chief surgeon at the Pavlodar oblast hospital; V. Mukishev, rotor excavator operator team leader at the "Bogatyr" open-cut mine of the "Ekibastuzgol" association (Pavlodar oblast); and V. Turenko, head of the department of pediatric surgery of the Tselinnyy mining and chemical combine medical unit (Tselinograd Oblast). In Ayaguzskiy Territorial Okrug No 642 (Semipalatinsk Oblast) the sole candidate O. Suleymenov, first secretary of the republic Writers' Union Board, was elected USSR people's deputy.

Lvov

In Lvov Oblast repeat elections were held in three territorial and one national-territorial okrug. A total of 25 candidates representatives of all professions were contesting the four seats. Only in Lvovskiy-Zalozhnyy Territorial Okrug was a people's deputy elected—writer R. Bratun.

In three electoral okrugs deputies were not elected. Runoffs are to be held.

Dushanbe

As a result of the 14 May ballot in Dushanbe City Central National-Territorial Okrug No 356, Dzhamshed Khilolovich Karimov, first secretary of the Dushanbe City Party Committee, won the title of USSR people's deputy. He was the sole candidate to run in that okrug.

The turnout was 76.3 percent of the total number of voters living in that area. Karimov won 87.8 percent of the votes cast at polling places last Sunday.

'Democracy' Explains Sverdlovsk Election Defeats 18000974 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 3 May 89 p 2

[Article by SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA special correspondent V. Semenov: "We Are Learning Democracy; Reverse Effect"]

[Text] Which candidate's program attracted voters more—the one who promised to build, let us say, a store, and who did not ascend to the heights of policy, or the one who fought for the sovereignty of the people, and who did not descend to everyday living concerns? It would seem that it was the first—in light of the hunger for commodities and the disorder in life. Whose chances for success were higher: the one whom the apparatus supported with all of its might, or the one who against his will managed to cope with the spontaneous help of a few people? Again, it would seem to be the first. But the opponent was frequently victorious.

Last week before the elections, people got out of dozens of party obkom vehicles every day in those rayons where the first secretary was on the ballot. The anxiety of the apparatus proved to be futile: L. Bobykin, who did not even garner a fourth of the votes, yielded to his opponent. The very same fate befell V. Vlasov, the chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee [oblsipolkom].

The palette of estimates of what had happened is extremely variegated, from the provincial embarrassment of party workers on the spot (they did not justify trust) to the well-known opinions about the costs of democracy. But if you remove the emotion and ambition, the results of the elections reflect the realities of today's life completely.

"...They call me up at the shop in the morning: There is a conference today on the nomination of candidates. We are nominating the first secretary of the party oblast party committee [obkom], Leonid Fedorovich Bobykin," says V. Cherdantsev, chief of a shop in the 'Sukholozhtsement' [dry cement] combine. "I assembled the shop committee. Naturally, the activist members were indignant: What kind of elections are these, when everything is already obvious? Well, then whom would we like to propose? The secretary of our party city party committee [gorkom], A. Izmodenov, who worked with us previously as a chief mechanic, and who afterwards was the secretary of the combine's party committee [partkom]. Even when all said "we approve," Izmodenov had his own opinion and defended it.

In the neighboring electoral okrug, five small enterprises immediately nominated V. Vlasov, chairman of the oblsipolkom. It was the Nevianskiy mechanical plant's

turn, where three candidates, not waiting for the conference, removed their candidacies. One of them, plant director V. Khokhonov, explained that he did it "for Vlasov's benefit." But then and there, lathe operator V. Zobov, deputy of the city soviet [gorsovet], hearing in the city soviet executive committee [gorispolkom] that an alternate candidacy was not foreseen, assembled the workers in the shop. Sorting out the aspirants, he remembers engineer I. Prudnikov, whose bold and honest articles were printed in the city newspaper. The workers phoned Prudnikov at home in the evening, and they invited him to come to the shop on the next day. Here, in the smoking room, they persuaded the engineer to get on the ballot and, convinced that the "law was written for them," they went to the partkom with their candidacy.

Well, they nominated Izmodenov and Prudnikov, and nothing terrible happened. To the contrary, the appearance of alternate figures normalized the situation. The editorial office of the Sukhoy Log newspaper prepared a small report on the conference at the combine in which it proposed to report to readers that "in the course of open voting, the majority of the cement workers showed a preference for A.K. Izmodenov." But at the last minute, they withdrew this statement from the report. That a party worker of a lower rank was preferred over the first secretary of the party obkom so distressed A. Yaysle, the supervisor of the organizational department of the party gorkom, that he (after consulting at the obkom) made a telephone call to the editorial office and suggested "removal," which amused the city's residents quite a bit. Sukhoy Log is a small city, and the residents found out about what happened at the conference that very evening. After receiving the paper they began to discuss glasnost and democracy.

As the saying goes, the apparatus overdid it. This did not add to L. Bobykin's authority. But both the first secretary of the party obkom and the oblispolkom chairman are undoubtedly important figures. Their nomination attests both to the trust in them and to hopes for a change. But, still.... What kind of hopes are these?

In the Kamyshevskiy leather tanning association, all 150 delegates at the labor collective conference unanimously voted for L. Bobykin. And how can there not be unanimity here, when the nomination of the first person of the oblast was tied directly to the long-awaited reconstruction of the association? The development of the city's social sphere also depends on it. But this, in essence, is a hope not for a people's deputy but for a benefactor on the job. And therefore what happens, as V. Cherdantsev expressed himself, is a "coverup up of a deputy's duties." Of course, while there are no rayons in the oblast without problems, and while everyone still walks around with holes in their pants, questions will also be asked of the deputies about street lighting, and about the building of a hospital or a water pipeline.... And there will be speculation in the pre-election campaign in jobs.

It already became clear in the first meeting with voters that despite the commonality of political platforms, the views of the candidates diverge on the main issue—the question of the role and functions of a deputy. While Izmodenov and Prudnikov accentuated legislative and legal possibilities, the oblast managers, guided by realism, reduced the deputy's tasks to the fulfillment of the mandate of the voters.

Meeting with voters in the Bogdanovichskiy Rayon, L. Bobykin promises to help with the delivery of reinforced concrete structures for building a new school. While at a furniture factory, with the delivery of raw materials, and while in Kamyshevo, he promises "to direct efforts so that the city and the rayon in the next 5-7 years will attain a level of development in the social sphere at a point no lower than that of the oblast."

It would seem that to people, tormented by a shortage of commodities and a lack of dwelling space, such realism would be more pertinent and understandable than abstract considerations about the procedure for adopting laws and checking on their execution, and referendums and the like. But no! V. Khokhonov, the director of the Nevyskiy mechanical plant, told the workers of one of the shops that if they vote against Vlasov they will not receive the resources for the reconstruction of the enterprise, and that they will live in "hovels." At this point, metal worker A. Shestakov stood up and asked the director: "What is this, are we being offered a political bribe? On the one hand, there are 46 million, and on the other, a worker's honor?"

"Bobykin's program is a list of his daily duties," V. Cherdantsev, who became a proxy to Izmodenov, tried to convince me. "An effort is being made to lead the people away from the main question—the question of authority. Izmodenov does not promise to build a bathhouse—he is talking about something else: they will help you build a bathhouse today, tomorrow a store, and the authority that was in the hands of a bureaucrat will remain in his hands."

Of course, the programs of L. Bobykin and V. Vlasov included many important questions that face the public and whose resolution we must all fight for, and fight for regardless of position. But, unfortunately, they did not contain that which commands the respect of people—an individual vision of these questions. What appealed in the programs of A. Izmodenov and I. Prudnikov, which perhaps are not that complete, is precisely their vision and their attitude toward the situation.

And there is another thing that appealed to the people in the alternate candidates. While all of the power of the party and soviet apparatuses were on the side of the oblast managers, at first only proxies worked for A. Izmodenov and I. Prudnikov. All of L. Bobykin's pre-election trips were widely reported in the press, and he appeared twice on television and gave interviews to

editors of city newspapers.... In Verkhnyaya Salda leaflets were dropped from an airplane appealing for votes for V. Vlasov. And in Tugulym, people from distant villages got to a meeting with A. Izmodenov whichever way they could, explaining that when they requested a bus, they got the answer: "There is nothing for you to do there; we will vote for Bobbykin." This is what the equality of possibilities is like....

Pressure gave the opposite effect almost always. Looking through the city newspaper ZVEZDA before it hit the streets, the workers of the Nevianskiy party gorkom turned their attention to the line: V. Vlasov, in the tradition of stagnant times, is proposed by the top echelons, and I. Prudnikov, by the workers. The vigilant apparatchiks decided that this debases the dignity of V. Vlasov, and they summoned the editor. After a stormy explanation, they stopped printing the issue, and they destroyed what was already ready for circulation. But the incident was given publicity in the oblast newspaper, and on the eve of the elections, fences and walls in the most populated places of the city were plastered—heaven knows where they were obtained—with pages of ZVEZDA cut in half and with the inscription "arrested issue." The city seethed.

"When we arrived in the rayon, there already had been such concentrated 'agitation' for Bobbykin that we did not have to campaign for Izmodenov, and all that was needed was an alternative figure," noted V. Cherdantsev.

"Our propaganda campaign bore the imprint of past years," believes Ya. Yashin, the manager of the ideological department of the CPSU obkom. "But the boldness of the candidates who were able to oppose the oblast managers, and their sincere desire to promote changes in society, won over the voters. New people from various strata of the population and social groups appeared in the political arena, and the people demonstrated new thinking. True, there is another opinion as well—about the excesses of democracy. And the resulting pessimistic forecasts. They can be summed up as a fear that the forces of stagnation will make an attempt to facilitate their access to local soviets, after organizing not general but corporate elections from party and public organizations in the republics, oblasts, and even rayons.

"The opinion that people are supposedly losing confidence in the party is being specially whipped up by bureaucrats in order to undercut glasnost and democracy," says V. Cherdantsev. "It is advantageous to them! But our deputy Izmodenov is also a party worker. And the people supported him."

"I think that people voted, nonetheless, not against positions, but against personalities. The pre-election meetings, which examined the candidates like an X-ray machine, and with sharp questioning, clearly showed who is who, and they were convincing that the roots of the current situation are to be found in the administrative-bureaucratic centralization of authority.

We went through a political acceleration during these months. Elections to republic and local organs of authority are around the corner. The referendum, which is unprecedented for our country, will continue. Now we know what a political campaign is like.

Public Reacts to Leningrad TV Election Debate
PM1705111389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[Correspondent N. Volynskiy report: "Phrase and Action"]

[Text] Leningrad—For 3 days the people of Leningrad intently followed the television debates in which candidate USSR people's deputies participated. There are very different opinions of this event. A. Pyzhov, introduced as a worker at the Admiralteyskoye Association, stood out clearly during the debates. Sharp criticism of the restructuring under way in the country provoked an ambivalent reaction, primarily among the working people at the association, which your correspondent has visited. By one of the ships being built there I met with shipwright A. Ivanov and rigging shop seaman K. Pankratyev. This was our conversation.

"Everything was public [glasno] and open, without any censorship. It was good that everyone said what he wanted. It was not only good because a person could express himself but also because everyone's mind (not to put it more strongly!) at once became clear.

"For some reason certain candidates decided that freedom of speech means just an opportunity to abuse absolutely everyone. But we understand it like this: It means an obligation to speak only the truth and to bear full responsibility for one's words. A candidate promises, promises.... But then? He must know the country's actual potential, know the crux of the issue. We do not need chatterboxes on the Supreme Soviet, but businesslike people who will struggle for the homeland's good. For example, that Pyzhov says: Restructuring has brought only a shambles to work places. He himself works temporarily on a construction site but speaks on behalf of all Admiralteyskoye Association people. But, to speak, for example, about the calamitous position of the working class when one of our skilled workers, for example, makes R350-400? That is absurd! And again. We are somehow used to blaming everything on the center, on Moscow. Yes, the center is responsible. But what about us in the provinces—are we on the sidelines? Take our association. There is a mass of problems which we ourselves create. Thus, we must resolve them ourselves. There is both our lack of organization and the habit of some people of working at half stretch. Unfortunately, we do sometimes stand idle. Chiefly because the internal services work badly. What has Moscow to do with this?

Or shoddy goods have come, for example, from a neighboring shop. Again order must be instilled. So, if you dig deep and think it over, you will see that no one will resolve our problems for us. We must assume responsibility. Ourselves!"

CPSU Legal Commission Session Discusses Crime
LD1705093389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[Text] A routine session of the CPSU Central Committee Commission on Matters of Legal Policy has been held under the chairmanship of V.M. Chebrikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The commission discussed reports from USSR Procurator General A.Ya Sukharev and USSR Interior Minister V.V. Bakatin on the state of the struggle against crime. The question of measures to intensify legal protection of officials of law enforcement bodies and other persons who are fulfilling their official or public duty to defend law and order was also examined.

The commission expressed serious concern at the growth of crime in the country. It was noted during an exchange of views that it has not been possible to consolidate some positive trends in the strengthening of law and order and the struggle against crime which developed in 1985 and 1986. The state of public order in the country is deteriorating, and the number of serious crimes is increasing. It is not only the quantitative increase in offenses which bears witness to the unfavorable state of affairs; the structure of crime is also changing. It is acquiring an increasingly organized character and "professional" tendency.

At the same time, the bodies for protecting law and order, as well as party, soviet and economic organs, and public organizations have not been fully ready to effectively combat the negative manifestations which have become more frequent or to defend restructuring and our democratic institutions. Account has not been taken of the need to combine the expansion of democracy and glasnost organically with resolute counteraction against infringements of the law, anarchy, and total permissiveness. Many matters which bring about increased effectiveness in the fight against crime are being solved too slowly.

The central law protection departments are analyzing the situation weakly, are not sufficiently coordinating their actions, and are frequently late in making the necessary decisions. It was emphasized that the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the USSR Procuracy, and the USSR Ministry of Justice, proceeding from the directives of the CPSU Central Committee April (1989) Plenum, must take urgent measures to strengthen the battle against criminality and to strengthen law and order in the country.

The need was recognized to increase the responsibility of the militia in securing order in the streets and in other public places, and also in uncovering crimes, especially serious ones connected with encroachments on the life, health, honor, and dignity of a person, and to resolutely combat apartment burglaries and other crimes which cause citizens a loss of property. In connection with this, recommendations were expressed concerning practical measures for raising the level of professional training for members of the militia, their specialization for investigating specific crimes, and equipping the militia with the necessary technical equipment.

It was also recognized that it would be expedient to accelerate the elaboration of vigorous measures, including those connected with making changes to legislation and those directed toward the battle against organized crime and to provide for the active study and use of foreign experience in this matter.

Issues of work with the cadres in the law protection bodies, especially in the teaching and education of their workers, and providing them with legal and social defense, are becoming more and more urgent.

It was emphasized that the strict observance of legality in the activities of the law enforcement bodies and the strengthening of their links with the public and labor collectives is a decisive factor in improving the effectiveness of their work.

Glasnost must be developed in every way in the work of the law enforcement bodies. The public must be given timely and correct information about the state of affairs in the struggle against crime, thus promoting the formation of an active stance amongst Soviet people in accordance with the tasks of restructuring.

The members of the commission and the representatives of central departments, scientific establishments, and public organizations invited to the meeting stressed that the process of extending democracy and glasnost and making legislation more humane is not being backed up by party committees and local soviets with the necessary organizational and political work to provide legal education for the population, to strengthen law and order, and to protect democratic institutions from extremist elements. There has been a sharp decrease in the activity of the public in resolving tasks of ensuring public order and combatting violations of the law.

Attention was called to the inadequate contribution by forensic science in resolving the tasks of ensuring law and order and combatting crime. Academic institutes, branch research institutes, and teaching establishments with a legal profile should conduct an in-depth analysis of the reasons for crime and other negative phenomena,

elaborate well-founded long-term criminological forecasts both for the country as a whole and for separate regions, and link scientific research more closely with the living practice of applying laws and with the aims and tasks of restructuring.

At the meeting examples were quoted of active participation by the mass media in the struggle to combat crime and to strengthen law and order. In this connection, mention was made of the newspapers PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, and of the good cooperation between the television program "Good Evening, Moscow" and the City Directorate of Internal Affairs of the Moscow City Executive Committee. At the same time, it was stressed that the mass media, in their publications, must more clearly conduct a policy of instilling respect for the law and for those who selflessly defend it. They must give greater and more interesting coverage of advanced experience in the struggle against crime, various forms of public participation in defending law and order, and promoting and overcoming nihilism with regard to the laws that still exist.

As was noted at the session, it is necessary to ensure a more decisive switch by all party, local soviet and economic bodies and public organizations to the matter of stepping up the struggle against crime and to undertake measures aimed at assisting the internal affairs bodies, and also the Procurator's Office and justice bodies in the fulfillment of the tasks facing them.

A positive appraisal was given to the experience of the work of party, local soviet and law enforcement bodies in Gorkiy Oblast in involving working people in safeguarding public order, and in particular the experience of setting up workers' detachments to work with the militia.

A proposal on the development of a unified statewide program for the struggle against crime was approved.

The commission examined proposals aimed at increasing the legal protection of employees of law enforcement bodies and other persons carrying out service obligations or public duties in safeguarding public order and the rights of citizens. It was noted that there have recently been more frequent instances of assaults, the use of violence, threats, and other illegal actions in relation to members of the militia, procurators, investigators and judges, members of voluntary people's militia patrols, and other representatives of the public aktiv taking part in safeguarding law and order and occupying an active and vital position in strengthening socialist legislation. Attempts at reprisals against members of law-protection bodies have started to become more frequently overt. The aim is a show of force by criminal elements. In letters and publications in the press the working people are raising the question of adopting corresponding legislative decisions.

It was noted that the measures to step up the legal protection of the guardians of law and order, which have been worked out by specialists of the central law protection departments with the participation of academics, are based on widely discussed proposals on ensuring the independence of the courts, the independence of investigators, and the lawful regulation of the work of the Soviet militia, and they take into account the practice of the legislative solution to similar issues in other countries. Taking the discussions into consideration, the law protection departments have been instructed to complete work on them and to submit them to the USSR Supreme Soviet in established legislative form.

The session was addressed by: A.S. Pavlov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee State and Law Department; V.A. Zatvornitskiy, leader of a Moscow City Main Administration for Housing and Civil Construction integrated team; A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; USSR People's Deputy I.V. Sorokin, senior criminal investigation operations official at Kuybyshev Station Railroad Internal Affairs Department; P.S. Bogdanov, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs and chief of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee Internal Affairs Main Administration; A.-M.K. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee; L.F. Bobykin, first secretary of Sverdlovsk CPSU Oblast Committee; F.D. Bobkov, first deputy chairman of the USSR KGB; A.A. Logunov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and USSR People's Deputy N.Yu. Reshetov, Obninsk deputy prosecutor.

Lawyer Stresses Legal Rigor, Judicial Integrity
PM1505104189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 May 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Doctor of Juridical Sciences, Professor A. Yakovlev, USSR people's deputy: "Crime and Justice: A Lawyer's Reflections on Judicial Statistics"]

[Text] Moscow—The following figure among the most important of the numerous problems involved in building a socialist law-governed state: the protection of law and order, the fight against crime, the provision of real security for citizens with respect to their lives, health, and property, and the effort to halt embezzlement and corruption.

Two indispensable conditions have to be ensured here. The first condition is complete and objective information about the state of crime in the country. The second is that the actual methods and means of combating crime should be irreproachable from the standpoint of their legality and validity.

The time of glasnost, and the opening up of information hitherto kept secret and unknown, is teaching us much. The first lesson is that when you learn something for the first time you may get the impression that it is the first time it has occurred (although it was simply not reported

before). The second lesson is that partial truth or half-truth may turn out to be a patent untruth, since partial, incomplete information is quite often a kind of disinformation.

Statistical data on the state of crime in the country in 1987-1988 was given in the press this February, the first time for many decades. It constitutes a major achievement of glasnost.

The statistics showed a rise in the crime rate. And quite a large one! Premeditated murders up by 14.1 percent, serious wounding 31.6 percent, robbery with violence 42.8 percent, theft 44.4 percent, and larceny 36.6 percent. What has happened, then? Are we rushing toward the abyss?

It is plain to every serious criminologist, however, that it is impossible to assess real trends in the crime rate on the basis of 2 years' figures. A broader perspective of at least a decade is required to assess these 2 years' data. It is consequently necessary to switch from partial to fuller information. And this is what emerges. Yes, in 1988 serious crimes did increase. The number of premeditated murders increased by almost 2,000, reaching a figure of 16,710. But other, fuller information forms the backdrop to this partial information, namely, that in the 6 years from 1979 through 1984 around 20,000, in some years around 21,000 premeditated murders were committed annually in the country. Yes, in 1988 the number of cases of premeditated serious wounding did increase by almost 9,000, to reach 37,191; but, from 1979 through 1984 42,000-45,000 such crimes were committed in the country annually. And so forth. Yes, the total number of crimes in the country in 1988 did increase compared with 1987 by 3.8 percent, producing a (rounded-up) figure of 1.8 million. But in 1983, 1984, and 1985 more than 2 million crimes altogether were committed in the country each year. All these data were not public property at the time. But the truth is that the crime rate during the years of stagnation was higher than today.

It is pointless, of course, to console ourselves with the fact that we have not "risen to the heights" of criminality of previous years, particularly as we could perfectly well achieve that level in the next few years. But that is the overall picture. It gives no grounds for complacency, but nor should it sow panic or stir up emotions, since both are poor counselors in affairs of state importance.

What has actually happened (and is happening), then, so far as the crime rate is concerned? Since 1985 the number of serious crimes of violence and acquisition has begun to show a marked decline (murder, from 20,501 in 1984 to 18,718 in 1985, to 14,848 in 1986, and 14,651 in 1987). The number of cases of serious wounding, theft, and armed robbery has likewise fallen in strictly parallel fashion. The bitter truth is that the statistics for serious crime show a direct correlation with the statistics for alcohol consumption in the country. The sudden, forcible blocking of legal channels of alcohol supply did lead

to an (alas brief) sobering up of society. But as soon as moonshine came to replace "state" vodka the crime indicators crept up in close parallel with the restoration of the previous level of alcohol consumption. (I would note in passing that the attempt to forcibly remove alcohol from the trade network, without making up for it with an abundance of consumer goods, has proved a clear failure).

Such is the overall picture. The dramatic rise in crime in 1987-1988 can consequently only be assessed within the framework of this picture. Of course, the well-justified alarm at the increase may give rise to two conclusions. The first is that a "cavalry charge" will not seriously affect the crime rate. Crime, developing out of existing social conditions of life, everyday existence, and work, the level of people's material well-being and culture, and the state of public morals, can (and should) be the object of a comprehensive prevention program and special concern on the part of all state and public organizations.

The other conclusion is that it is not enough to shift the emphasis, blaming law-enforcement agents alone for the growth in crime. The fact that some people see the main defect in their work as lying in the "humanization" of the criminal code, "liberalization," pandering to criminals, and so forth is particularly worrying. Some people even go so far as to question the central principle of justice—the presumption of innocence. Lock more of them up! Shoot more of them! Why do courts justify and prosecutors need to sanction arrests at a hearing, refusing it wherever there are inadequate grounds for this measure to secure the appearance of defendants?

Such attitudes are very dangerous. There is evidence that in some places the question of how to punish a criminal is being put to the vote in meetings. There is something painfully, terrifyingly familiar here.... But we must not allow ourselves to be pushed again into an orgy of criminal repressions, repressions without trial, liability without proof of guilt. We must not allow mob "assizes" to replace justice.

Let us be blunt: There is a tendency to exploit the real, genuine growth in crime to attack justice, to discredit democratic principles of judicial reform, and to ultimately attack the democratic bases of a law-governed state. However, I believe that there is enough common sense and conscious experience in the public mind to understand the situation and not forget the truth we have gained through suffering: Whenever, on the pretext of intensifying the fight against crime, it is suggested to us that we relinquish legal safeguards; when arrest without trial, condemnation without guilt, and excessive punishment are given out as the best remedy against crime; then it is not the criminals who are under threat but we ourselves.

Does this mean that everything is as it should be in the law-enforcement agencies? Of course not. It is true that investigation is inadequately provided for. But the

defense attorney is not allowed access to the investigation either, and that is a weakness in investigation and our common misfortune. Our courts stand at the "bottom" of the structure of justice in terms of the status of judges and their material standards, whereas they should be at the "top." Our best hope for fair justice lies in the power of the court. While judges may be "carpeted" and people's assessors are passive and powerless, self-sacrifice and civic and professional courage are needed if a judge is to stand firm and to become and actually operate as a servant of the law rather than the authorities' toady.

We do have such judges, quite a few of them (although they receive unjustifiably scant mention). Recent court practice has provided many examples of this. I cannot comprehend the logic of those people who regard judges' increasing exactingness regarding proof of guilt, the enhanced role for the defense attorney, and the increasing safeguards against unjustified arrest and conviction as...showing concern for the criminals and all but a cause of the growth in crime in the country! In my opinion, this is not only unprofessional but socially irresponsible.

The law is indivisible. It cannot be divided into the "whole" law when it concerns all of us and "truncated" law when criminal suspects are involved. And if the investigator tries to supplant the judge—if in the name of fighting crime, even the most dangerous crime, he himself commits a crime (knowingly arrests an innocent man, falsifies evidence, declares accused people criminals before or without trial)—then that investigator is dangerous primarily not to criminals but to all of us, because such a practice will spread, and we will again be unable to sleep for fear of the nighttime knock at the door. Have we finally learned these lessons? And when we are told that rigorous prosecutors who do not sanction arrest without adequate grounds, and exacting judges who return cases for further investigation or deliver acquittals "tie the hands of the investigation" and "stymie" the fight against crime, there is only one answer. That's enough! We have had our fill of arrests on mere suspicion and of convictions without guilt.

The people should be protected against the robber or hooligan, the bribetaker or embezzler, but also against the tyranny and abuse of that awesome power invested in the investigator and the judge—that power over people's life, freedom, and honor.

MVD Crime Prevention Department Created

LD1605184189 Moscow TASS in English 1808 GMT
16 May 89

[TEXT] Moscow May 16 TASS—A Directorate of Criminality Prophylaxis Services has been set up at the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs. The decision to establish the new office was taken with the aim to upgrade the efficiency of crime prevention work with criminally inclined individuals as well as in connection with the sharp increase of re-education work with individuals

sentenced to punishments not involving deprivation of freedom, General Boris Voronov, head of the newly established department told a briefing today.

Up to the moment different services acted apart in carrying out this kind of work, he said. There were no adequate studies of the general causes of criminality, there were shortfalls in criminological analysis and in the development and organized implementation of criminality prevention actions. The absence in the internal affairs system of specialized departments dealing with criminality prophylaxis and consequent inadequacy of individual approach to persons eschewing involvement in socially useful labour, abusing drugs, given to alcoholic drinking and violating the rules of community living resulted in the growth of recidivist and domestic transgressions as well as a spread of crimes rooted in drunkenness and alcoholism.

The tasks set before the new directorate require better personnel in the internal affairs offices, better grounding in specialist training, consolidating the sector of divisional inspectors in localities and upgrading the quality of their work, including through better technical equipment.

MVD Briefs Newsmen on Crime Situation

PM1605152789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 May 89 Morning Edition p 8

[V. Zaykin report: "Measures Against Crime"]

[Text] Journalists were informed about the state of crime in the country at a scheduled briefing at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD).

During the first 4 months of 1989 a total of 687,296 crimes were registered by internal affairs bodies and the public prosecutor's office. Although this is considerably more than in the same period last year, a slight drop in virtually every type of crime has been observed in the last month.

As was pointed out at the briefing, the unfavorable crime situation in the country is largely connected with the recent amnesty, the shortage of consumer goods, flaws in the cooperative movement, and shortcomings in the work of the militia, which has been unable to immediately adapt to the increased workload under the new conditions.

The following were invited to the briefing: Major General of Militia V. Grinin, Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] minister of internal affairs; Major General of the Internal Services G. Voshchinin, acting chief of the Leningrad Oblast and City Soviet Executive Committee [oblgorispolkom] Internal Affairs Main Administration; Major General of Militia A. Kononov, chief of the Rostov Oblast Soviet Executive Committee [oblispolkom] Internal Affairs Administration; and Colonel of Militia V. Potapov, chief of the Gorkiy

Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration. They talked about the state of crime in their regions and answered journalists' questions.

The Turkmen SSR. The overall crime level here is almost 50 percent lower than the national level. But in the last 4 months there has been a 37 percent growth rate in crime. One explanation for this is the increase in the number of people unemployed. A total of 200,000 people (50,000 of whom are adult males) are out of work today because of the lack of jobs available in the republic. A large number of crimes are committed by people under the influence of narcotic substances. Drug addiction is still a very serious problem. As many as 124 people in every 100,000 are "infected" with this disease in Turkmenia (for the sake of comparison the national average is 28). The present position of women in the republic is a source of concern. The practice of "bride money" is still made much of and sometimes reaches considerable sums. Cases of self-immolation among women are showing no signs of decreasing. Active work is now under way in the Turkmen SSR to solve these problems.

Leningrad. In order to prevent the appearance of people of no fixed abode, a social rehabilitation center for prisoners coming to the end of their sentence is being organized at one of the general regime colonies. Representatives of the city soviet executive committee (gorispolkom) and party and Communist Youth League organizations get to know the prisoners, find out about their civilian professions, and help them to find work and become members of society with full rights after their release from the colony.

Rostov. Here an interesting experiment has produced some results. Working groups made up of members of the militia, the court, the public prosecutor's office, and social organizations visit population centers where an increase in crime has been registered. The preventive work of these groups is noticeably improving the criminal situation.

Gorkiy. In order to ensure order at industrial enterprises, in adjoining territories, and in the residential sector, the decision has been made to set up working detachments on a voluntary basis to assist the militia. They will be maintained by funds from enterprises in the oblast and made up of workers and employees from these enterprises.

Crime Rates Reported Up Sharply in 1989

18001036 Moscow TRUD in Russian 12 May 89 p 4

[Unattributed article]

[Text] In February, in the village of Geok-Tepe in the Turkmen SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], about 200,000 rubles' worth of gold items and electronic watches were stolen from the Altyn store. The thief was arrested in April.

On 20 April near Yerevan they confiscated three motor vehicles transporting about 30 tons of stolen alcohol worth a total of more than a million rubles. The vehicles were accompanied by a special armed group. An investigation is being conducted.

These and other cases were mentioned yesterday at a briefing in the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] which was conducted by N. Demidov, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs. He familiarized journalists with the condition of crime in the country during 4 months of this year. During this period 687,295 crimes were registered, which is 31.2 percent more than during the same period of last year. The greatest increase was in crimes such as mugging—36.7 percent, banditry—79.2 percent, and theft of personal property—67.9 percent. After the ukase on increasing responsibility for extortion (rackets) went into effect, 933 cases of these were revealed. At the same time the deputy minister noted that while overall number of crimes increased, the crime rates in April of this year decreased as compared to March.

Experts, Politicians View Crimefighting Plan

PM1705112389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian

17 May 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Academic Council Session"]

[Text] A 15 May session of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute academic council discussed the theoretic model of a state-wide comprehensive program for combating crime in the country. Academician V.N. Kudryavtsev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, delivered the report. The problem was extensively discussed. Scientists specializing in the field of criminal law, criminology, and the history and theory of law, along with other specialists, took part in the debate.

The following took part in the session of the academic council: V.M. Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A.S. Pavlov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee State and Law Department; V.V. Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs, and the representatives of other law enforcement organs and the scientific public.

Latvian Prosecutor Interviewed on Crime, Secession

PM1105135289 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA

in Russian 4 May 89 p 2

[Interview with Ya.E. Dzenitis, Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic prosecutor, candidate deputy for Kirovskiy National-Territorial Electoral Okrug No 296, by correspondent I. Geyman, under the rubric "The Elections Are Over, the Elections Go On": "Ya. Dzenitis: 'Everyone Should Feel Protected'—date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Geyman] How have things been in the last year or two? Is crime on the rise?

[Dzenitis] It is on the rise. On the one hand, this can be explained by the fact that we are strictly supervising the registration of every infringement of the law. But that is not the whole explanation. After all, serious crimes, which have always been registered, are also on the increase. So the increase is real, and there can be no doubt of that. This is my prediction: In a couple of years there will be a serious surge in crime in the republic unless we halt certain phenomena associated with the incorrect understanding of developing democracy and the movement toward anarchy.

These phenomena have recently been a serious distraction for the staffers of law enforcement organs. Instead of catching criminals, the militiamen are busy with rallies, pickets, and so forth. Formerly the crime detection rate was very high—some 90-95 percent, but today it is only 50-60 percent. Who suffers as a result? First and foremost the ordinary person, who is perhaps himself standing on the picket line or listening to the speakers at the rally. While he is getting high on street democracy and the militia is there keeping order, meanwhile the lock on his doors is being picked and thieves are taking away his honestly earned possessions.

[Geyman] The times are now such that almost everyone strives to declare that he is for restructuring. The honest man was dissatisfied with some things formerly, so the new wave suits him. The careerist and opportunist shout louder than anyone that they are for restructuring, but before, they used to praise the Brezhnev mores equally loudly. The demagogue, the type who enjoys making a fuss in public, and the open anti-Sovietist all fall over themselves to pass themselves off as the chief supporters of restructuring. The thieves are restructuring too, adapting to the new structures and systems. The restructuring that began 4 years ago has acquired a great many adherents and unscrupulous fellow travelers. The ordinary person, hearing someone speak, thinks this man seems to be a real restructuringer. Then he listens to someone else he seems just as good...

[Dzenitis] Indeed, today whoever shouts loudest regards himself as a true-blooded restructuringer.

[Geyman] And it is striking that everyone is for Gorbachev...

[Dzenitis] Yes, there is no other slogan. Because this is very advantageous to those who are really pursuing quite different, selfish goals. Take the goal of restoring bourgeois Latvia. For some people this is the ultimate objective, although they do not say so openly. They construct apparently profound arguments, and for "general consumption," so to speak, these people declare that they are in the vanguard of restructuring. And you cannot call them liars. They invest this word with a special meaning of their own. It is convenient to be a chameleon.

Under the cover of restructuring some people try to push through nationalist ideas that are not at all in accordance with the policy that the CPSU began 4 years ago. In our republic there are people who at one time suffered some undeserved offense. We must compensate them for the offense and do everything possible to ensure that they are aware of our shared attention toward them. But should we reopen old wounds? Should we follow them in preaching that the Latvians are some kind of special people and Latvian is some kind of special language? Why cultivate this kind of ethnic exclusivity? I do not like this. As a Latvian, I do not like it. There are very many good people among the Latvians. There are many good Russians too. But there are also scoundrels among every people, not, unfortunately, in very small numbers.

I believe scoundrels of various nationalities are now trying to fool the young people by telling them fine tales about life in bourgeois Latvia. I myself remember those bourgeois days when the Aizargi [members of paramilitary organization in pre-Soviet Latvia] held sway and people were divided according to social classes. If you had a horse, they would at least discuss things with you. But my father was a poor man. He did not have a horse, so no one took any notice of him.

[Geyman] You have taken extreme cases when far-reaching political goals are pursued in the guise of restructuring. But there are a good many other factors that mean that certain people have no right to call themselves the foremen of restructuring...

[Dzenitis] I am sure that if you go up to such a speaker at a rally or meeting and ask him what he means by the term "restructuring," you are hardly likely to receive a logical, coherent answer in every case. And the press sometimes amazes me. I am amazed at the boldness of certain journalists, who start claiming: This man is a supporter of restructuring. That man is an opponent. What is the criterion here? That the one who is an "opponent" does not share the views of the publication in question? But socialist pluralism is an essential component of the democratization of society, for which the whole restructuring was undertaken.

Incidentally, I remember one extremely odd criterion that was used in the newspaper LITERATURA UN MAKSLA. The esteemed Mavrik Vulfson wrote: Those who acknowledge that Latvia was annexed are supporters of restructuring. Those who still assert that there was a revolutionary situation here are all stagnationists and Stalinists. Is it not laughable?

[Geyman] To conclude our discussion on restructuringers I would like to ask you, Yanis Eduardovich: How do you interpret the term "restructuring"?

[Dzenitis] This is what I would say. Restructuring is a return to Leninism in every aspect—in the system of thought, the social structure of society, the economy, and

relationships among all of us—representatives of different social groups and classes and different ethnic groups and nations. At one time all this already existed in embryonic form. Lenin's death cut short the state's development along the new path. Now we must revive Leninism. Taking into account, of course, the changes that have taken place in the world in these lost decades.

[Geyman] The prestige of your profession has recently changed markedly. Formerly a prosecutor was a special figure. He was above criticism, people were rather afraid of him. In short, he was a prosecutor. In the developed countries his significance in society remains the same. No one would even consider insulting the prosecutor in any way or belittling his dignity. But here, when everything became "democratic" and pickets appeared and started blockading the prosecutor's office and publicly abusing the prosecutor, this prestige was, of course, shaken. Presumably your work has become harder both in purely functional terms, and morally.

[Dzenitis] One sign of democratization is the elimination of zones closed to criticism. Nor can the prosecutor's office be protected against criticism. But criticism should be just, and directed at specific workers. Aspersions must not be cast on the actual functions of prosecution supervision, without which the existence of a rule-of-law state is inconceivable. Unfortunately, what is happening here is the reverse. There are attacks on the prosecutor's office as an organ of power and one hears claims that the prosecutor's office is opposed to restructuring. That is quite wrong. Our main aim is the protection of the Soviet citizen's interests and the protection of the state's interests. Whereas formerly we often put state interests first, today it is man who is at the center of attention, and the supremacy of the law is asserted. The law is above everything, and it should serve man.

The work has, of course, become more difficult. I think that fair criticism helps, but I have never accepted and cannot accept unfair, tendentious criticism. And that is even more true when it comes to open defamation. Television correspondent Ya. Dimants, for instance, on the day that it was announced that Dzenitis was registered as a candidate deputy, said something like this on television: I cannot understand it, how can Dzenitis represent our republic, in particular Kirovskiy Rayon, in the union Supreme Soviet, if he is against the intelligentsia? What grounds did the correspondent have for asserting that I am against the intelligentsia? How have I offended it? What is it if not slander, disinformation, and an attempt to discredit a candidate deputy?

At the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium session I made a protest on this matter. It was duly recorded. I demanded that Ya. Dimants apologize to me publicly on television. Then I called the journalist's boss, Ya. Gavars, let him know of the step I had taken, and insisted on an apology. He replied: Ya. Dimants is in Daugavpils, but when he comes back I will make him apologize.

Incidentally, at about that time there was a meeting of candidate deputies with voters at the motor vehicle workers' club, at which M. Rukmane, secretary of Kirovskiy Rayon party committee [raykom], was present. She was asked from the auditorium: What steps do you intend to take with regard to Communists who make irresponsible statements on television about candidate deputy Dzenitis? The ryakom secretary replied that she had not seen the program, but would look into it. Now the voters and I are waiting to see what happens when M. Rukmane looks into it.

[Geyman] You said that the pickets and their backers are opposed to the system of prosecutor's supervision as such. But there is another aspect too.

It is well known that interethnic friction has increased in the republic recently. Let us be frank. There are plenty of reasons for this. They have accumulated over the decades. You might expect people's dissatisfaction to be turned against particular systems, departments, soulless bureaucratic officialdom. After all, that is where all kinds of deformations, distortions, and so forth originate. But that is not what is happening. Someone is painstakingly channeling the anger of some people against others—equally ordinary, innocent people. And this is how it goes: You, a Latvian, do you live in cramped conditions? You see that Russian over there, that immigrant? He took your apartment. You, a Russian, are you afraid of turning into a second-class citizen? You see that Latvian sitting in his office? He lured you into his republic so that you would do the dirty work for him.

And so discords arise. For the provocateurs, this is the easiest, safest path. If you raise your voice against a department, what is the point? It will give as good as it gets. But there is no need to be afraid of an individual. And for an old woman or someone not very bright who wants faster restructuring, it is easier to paint a picture of the enemy in the form of the first comer than to picture the rather confused state hierarchy...

[Dzenitis] I believe that the kindling of ethnic discord is a means whereby extremist elements hope to achieve their unseemly objectives. Everything that is happening in the Baltic region is considerably more dangerous than what happened in Karabakh or Tbilisi. There, they have none of these phenomena based on ethnic discord. In Karabakh, for instance, it is mainly a question of territory. But here some people are deliberately kindling ethnic discord in order to make people of different nationalities hate each other. If they achieve their goal it will be easier for them to tackle the main problems associated with raising the question of Latvia's secession from the Soviet Union.

[Geyman] Recently, when the political situation in Latvia has been discussed, this phrase has often been heard: "There is someone behind it."

[Dzenitis] I think there may perhaps be someone behind it here, but the "conductor" is abroad. His "score" is clear: To ensure that the right republican Supreme Soviet is elected in the fall, and then to vote for secession from the USSR.

[Geyman] Perhaps that is so, but I have doubts of a different kind. The Brezhnev times were quite recent. What do we associate with those times? The Uzbek affair—Rashidovism. The Kazakh affair—Kunayevism. The Rostov affair, the Sochi and Moscow affairs—organized crime and corruption. All that is somewhere else, a long way away. But the Baltic region is part of the country too. Surely stagnation and the degenerate morality of the time cannot have passed it by? Could it be that this "someone" is to be found not in political circles, but in economic circles? Could it be that it is important for him to fan the interethnic flames so as to divert attention from his own economic crimes? As it was in Azerbaijan, first Sumgait, but when the maneuver was seen through—a major criminal case of corruption...

[Dzenitis] I can say confidently that cases like those uncovered in Uzbekistan and elsewhere did not occur in Latvia. We had crime. Perhaps even organized crime to some extent. We have brought to the dock several senior militia workers who had become involved with the criminal world. We have also had cases involving speculation. If I am not mistaken, at that time we took criminal proceedings against at least 50 people. But we could not have had cases like those in Uzbekistan. Why not? Here much depends on people's way of life and character. Our people are not used to living in grand style. They are fundamentally unsuited to machinations. And if there is no spare money, there is no way of bribing state employees.

However, if we go back over old cases, we will discover organized overreporting. If there had been a principled approach to all party and soviet workers at that time, many of them would have been caught outright in misdeeds. It is another matter that it was impossible to prove any self-interest in this overreporting, but it is a fact that this form of misdemeanor was committed in an organized manner under the command of the raykoms and rayon soviet executive committees. And the leadership of the Council of Ministers and the party Central Committee knew about it. We lawyers used to report the practice and send in submissions, but always heard the reply: He was not doing it for himself, he received nothing personally. Leave him in peace. We will impose a party penalty.

[Geyman] So you do not think that economic circles could be influencing the kindling of ethnic hostility now?

[Dzenitis] No. We are dealing with pure politics.

[Geyman] But in that case the question arises: Where have the economic crimes gone? Formerly reports on such cases aroused great interest in readers, viewers, and listeners. Now it has all gone quiet. So have people stopped stealing, producing shoddy goods, and engaging in machinations?

[Dzenitis] Of course not. As before, criminal cases of this kind are constantly being uncovered. They include major, cunningly complex cases. But they do not find their way into the newspapers or onto the air, because the journalists have lost interest. They are more interested in the pickets and rallies. A very strange situation has arisen. Glasnost has facilitated the access of the press to the affairs of the prosecutor's office and Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD], but the press does not seek to make use of this glasnost.

[Geyman] For you, as, of course, for all of us, the main law is the Constitution. You exercise prosecutor's supervision over its unfailing observance. But then the cooperatives formed, and, it seems to me, everyone forgot about the Constitution. It is not a question of prices or of raw materials that are in short supply. That will sort itself out in time. It is a question of concepts that are sacred to the proletariat, such as the guaranteed 8-hour working day, the right to leisure, safety at work, special working conditions for women and juveniles...

[Dzenitis] You are right, these questions were lost sight of and we must, of course, tackle them immediately.

[Geyman] Another question that, I am sure, worries both our readers and your voters is the question of racketeering.

[Dzenitis] It must be said frankly that this has now become an urgent matter, although at first the phenomenon passed us by. The number of murders of cabdrivers is increasing at the moment. Recently I was on my way to work in the morning and I saw a black "Volga" in the yard of the prosecutor's office, with a corpse in it. Can you imagine my feelings? It turned out that during the night one of our prosecutors was summoned to an incident in which a driver was killed in his car, and the prosecutor had driven the car back from Kr. Baron. He had been unable to carry out an investigation at the scene of the crime. The gapers who had gathered round were in the way, so the prosecutor decided to drive the car back to our yard. The owner of the car, it turned out, was involved in various shady affairs. He belonged to a mafia, was a millionaire involved with prostitutes and collected money from them. He played around with foreign currency. By all appearances, another mafia was demanding money from him. He would not go along with the racket and so the man sitting next to him shot him right in the temple.

We have already had several cases of criminals bothering cooperatives and people who have a certain income. People who grow flowers, for instance. They go to them and say: You will pay us R10,000. If you don't pay, you

won't see your farm again. Those who for one reason or another are unwilling to resort to the protection of the authorities either pay up without a murmur, or stop trading.

A special group has been set up at the MVD to combat racketeering. The people there undergo special training. A law was recently adopted on combatting this evil. But the problem has not gone away. Society is facing a serious danger, and more importance must be attached to it than hitherto.

[Geyman] Another issue that has reached the boiling point in our stormy public life is ecological problems. What is the place of the prosecutor's office here?

[Dzenitis] When this problem is touched on, the impression is often created that the prosecutor's office is to blame for everything. I, for instance, have been accused of being to blame for the pollution of the Baltic Sea. But the prosecutor's office is not an economic organization. It does not build cleansing facilities or install smoke and dust filters. By law, we are obliged to exercise supervision, not even control, but supervision over compliance with nature conservation legislation. It would take a long time to list everything the prosecutor's office does in this sphere. I will only say that every year we bring in five or six criminal cases against those officials who maliciously violate legislation. We study the factors leading to actions detrimental to the environment and we stop enterprises whose activity is harmful to nature.

At the recent collegium session of the USSR Prosecutor's Office I raised the question of setting up a special nature conservation prosecutor's office in Latvia to concern itself entirely with the problems of Ventspils, Sloka, and other places where ecological problems require solving urgently. This proposal was accepted, and will be implemented this year.

[Geyman] One last question, Yanis Eduardovich: What is your election platform?

[Dzenitis] As I have already said, I advocate the building of a socialist rule-of-law state, in which man and his concerns, needs, and hopes would be at the center of attention not just in words, but in reality. I advocate social justice. As a lawyer I believe that one priority task is to ensure legal protection for everyone. This legal protection should take a form so that everyone has the opportunity to exercise the rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution and instances of unjustified proceedings being brought against citizens and unlawful detention, arrest, and conviction are ruled out. Therefore, I will seek amendments to legislation with a view to establishing the right to enjoy the assistance of a defender (advocate) from the moment of a citizen's detention and arrest, or in some cases from the moment the indictment is presented, and also during the examination of cases concerning administrative offenses.

Every citizen must be guaranteed the right without hindrance to appeal to and be received by any official, whatever his post, and the right to the just resolution of his requests and proposals within the framework of the law. In this connection I consider the struggle against bureaucracy an integral part of the legal protection of the citizen.

The state should not only declare, but guarantee and ensure in practice the personal safety of every person and his family, wherever they may be, and ensure the protection of citizens' personal property against any encroachments. To this end I will seek the adoption of a range of measures to strengthen law and order and ensure the inevitability of punishment for every offense.

I will take every possible step to establish the supremacy of the law and strengthen the rule of law.

In place of the existing departmental instructions, provisions, and so forth, it is necessary to formulate clear union and republican laws. I think that union laws should only be ratified after the examination of the drafts by the legislative organs of the union republics.

I advocate the protection of the constitutional foundations of the Soviet state and the unity of the USSR, and the strengthening of the Communist Party's authority. To this end I believe it is necessary to struggle implacably against extremism, anti-Sovietism, nationalism, and chauvinism as phenomena that are incompatible with the principles of the Soviet state and undermine the reforms taking place in the country.

I believe that the strengthening and widening of democracy are possible only given the observance of discipline, organization, and responsibility and the elimination of permissiveness and anarchy, given an honest attitude to labor.

I advocate the further development of glasnost, and at the same time I regard as impermissible its use for anti-socialist purposes and for the kindling of interethnic enmity and discord. I will seek objectivity in the work of the mass media.

I advocate the unity of the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia, irrespective of national affiliations, and the consolidation of all progressive forces.

I will struggle with all my might against demagoguery and all who make empty, unrealistic, and unrealizable promises.

As I have already said, with a view to stepping up the role of prosecutor's supervision in the struggle against violations of nature conservation laws, I have already begun to seek the creation of a special prosecutor's office for supervision of the observance of nature conservation legislation in the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic.

[Geyman] Thank you for the interview.

Vagris Addresses Latvian Plenum on Language Law
PM1605155189 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA
in Russian 5 May 89 pp 2, 4

[LATINFORM report on speech by Ya.Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum in Riga on 4 May: "The Law on Languages Must Be Approached on the Basis of Cooperation and Consolidation"]

[Excerpts] Comrades! The institution of the language's status by a special legislative act and the democratic practice of the use of languages, as well as the broad discussion on the relevant draft law has drawn the attention of the republic's public for a long time. Therefore, our plenum today is certainly devoted to one of the central questions of sociopolitical life in Soviet Latvia.

Quite recently we all followed the progress of the campaign to elect USSR people's deputies. In their election campaign platforms and during their meetings with voters the overwhelming majority of candidate deputies advocated the granting of state language status to the Latvian language and a democratic language policy. And this was supported by the broadest strata of the population. [passage omitted]

A lot of work was done and, in my opinion, the draft laws which have been prepared should be approved as a basis for the discussion and adoption of relevant laws in the Supreme Soviet. I personally find totally incomprehensible and unacceptable the destructive and negative approach stubbornly maintained on this issue by the leadership of the International Front of Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Working People [Interfront]. The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee has already on several occasions condemned the irresponsible attempts to transform the process of elaborating a democratic practice for the use of languages in our republic into an object of political speculation, misleading information, and blackmail.

In its 26 April resolution the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau unambiguously condemned the threatened strikes and ultimatum demands addressed to the republic's Supreme Soviet and government at a rally organized by the Interfront, and also instructed Communists to take the necessary political measures to prevent a deliberate exacerbation of the situation in Latvia. The past few days have proved that the overwhelming majority of Communists reacted to this Bureau resolution with great understanding and approval, but some Communists in leadership positions and primary organizations have not managed to take a correct political stance.

The Riga City party committee and rayon party committees must analyze in a principled and self-critical fashion their actions at this politically crucial time and must adopt the necessary decisions and organize their work so as to prevent the transformation of political threats and economic blackmail into a means for ultimatum-like pressure in the hands of individual extremist elements.

I think that members of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee will also have their say on the matter here. We are the ones who bear political responsibility for the fate of restructuring in Soviet Latvia, and the creation of an atmosphere of political blackmail in the republic and the attempts to use strikes to disrupt social production and create a state of sociopolitical stress in the republic must be appraised as downright detrimental to the working people's interests and the cause of restructuring.

Our readiness to approve the proposed draft laws will be affirmed by our determination to march along the hard path of restructuring and democratization of society while implementing the 19th all-union conference decisions on interethnic relations and freeing them of the deformations of previous decades.

But laws, orders, and decisions cannot automatically change the practice implanted over the years. This is why today we must approach with special responsibility the question of elaborating a broad and realistic program for ensuring that the Law on Languages works.

One of the fundamentally important questions is how consistently and how democratically the Law on Languages will be implemented, how organized and businesslike we will be in providing material backup for it, and how demanding we will be toward the Communists in leadership positions on whom this will depend. [passage omitted]

A perfectly justified desire has been expressed by the public, and also at our plenum. The government as a whole, ministries, the Academy of Sciences, higher education establishments, and publishing houses must be more energetic in creating conditions for the study of Latvian. I also consider justified the criticism that, during the 7 months since the Supreme Soviet session, parts of the public were not fully informed either of the Council of Ministers resolution dated 29 December 1988 or of other measures. The habit of waiting for special instructions and adopting resolutions without feeling it necessary to shape public opinion to a certain extent only electrified the atmosphere around the language problem and in interethnic relations as a whole and destabilized the situation in the republic.

The Central Committee Ideological Department must also be criticized for lacking the initiative and determination to embark on even broader explanatory work, primarily in the Russian language. After all, editorial offices received hundreds of questions, letters expressed

groundless worries, and arguments which could not stand up to any criticism were voiced at the height of polemics, but official bodies and their leaders were slow in responding.

And now that the government program has been brought to everyone's attention, the explanatory work must still carry on. Every Communist, especially leaders of various ranks, must help to shape a healthy public opinion and positive attitudes.

We must be consistent in implementing adopted decisions. At the same time, however, we must be aware (and this has to be bluntly said) that gross bureaucratic actions are impermissible in questions of introducing the study of Latvian. It is necessary to take a principled stand against even the slightest attempt by any official or services sphere worker to injure a citizen, whether he a visitor or a customer, in terms of his guaranteed free choice of language. [passage omitted]

Media Conference Ponders Interfront Strike Call
PM1005101989 Riga SOVETSKAYA
LATVIYA in Russian 26 Apr 89 p 3

[LATINFORM report: "By Force of Law, Not By the Law of Force"]

[Text] The most complex contradictions and acute problems must be resolved in restructuring conditions not by strong-arm pressure or ultimatums but on a legal and democratic basis—this idea was expressed once again with the utmost cogency 24 April at a conference of leaders of a number of republican mass news media in connection with the demands for and threat of a strike voiced 21 April at a meeting of the International Front of Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Working People in Riga.

A.G. Alekseyev and I.V. Lopatin, leaders of the International Front, who were present at the conference, familiarized the conference participants with the content of the resolution (it was published in RIGAS BALSS for 25 April this year) and of the appeal made by the participants of the International Front supporters' meeting to the CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The conference participants asked the International Front leaders many questions and specified their positions. I.Ya. Kezbers, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, rejected as groundless claims that a ban allegedly existed on the publication of International Front material. At the same time he agreed that a solution to many questions is long overdue, for example, that of creating a Russian desk in television, which was proposed by the public even before the International Front's emergence, as was pointed out actually at the conference to the leaders of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting who were present.

I.Ya. Kezbers and Ya.Ya. Okherin, secretaries of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, G.N. Loskutov, leader of a Latvian Communist Party Central Committee department, and other speakers stated unambiguously that the threatened strike was not the method by which conflicts should be resolved in a socialist state, particularly in the economic situation prevailing in the republic and in the country as a whole. The International Front states that it is not the organizer of the strike, but only the intermediary for workers and labor collectives. But who will suffer from the strike above all? Our working people, Latvia's inhabitants. As is known, a single national economic complex has taken shape in the Soviet Union. And even a short strike will cause a chain reaction. It is enough to recall that a number of our republic's enterprises could not fulfill the plan for deliveries because of the strikes in Armenia.

The conference participants expressed concern that even agitation for the strike in multinational collectives will exacerbate the situation and stir up conflict. This conflict will increase even more the contradictions between the city and the countryside which already objectively exist today.

There are many Communists among the International Front members, and party members' attitude to the strike in the prevailing situation must be unambiguously negative. It is leading to trouble, to an impasse. If Communists today do not understand this, it was said at the conference, then probably all our decisions and all our calls for the creation of a rule-of-law state and for democracy are completely worthless.

The mass media were told to give wider coverage to the position of the International Front, Communists, and workers. They should study their opinion—do they really believe that the questions of television broadcasts and other problems discussed at the meeting should be resolved by strikes.

The attention of the International Front leaders was also drawn to the fact that the Council of Ministers is formulating a program to ensure the fulfillment of the Law on Languages, and the program will be published. It was also noted in the speeches that elections were conducted for the first time on a broad democratic basis. Naturally, mistakes were also made, but it was not intended to infringe anyone's rights in determining the electoral okrugs. As for the coming elections, all the errors will be analyzed and the appropriate conclusions will be drawn.

As was stressed at the conference, the Riga city party committee must give its assessment of the meeting. The prevailing situation will also be examined at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

Vyalas Addresses 4 May Estonian Party Plenum
PM1605120089 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 5 May 89 pp 1-3

[Speech by V. Vyalas, first secretary of Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered to 14th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum in Tallinn on 4 May: "On the Political Situation in the Republic and Party Organizations' Work To Rally Working People and Social Forces To Resolve the Tasks of Restructuring"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades!

In accordance with the spirit of the the 19th all-union party conference, the Estonian Communist Party resolutely embarked on the road of restructuring with its own action program set out in the report to the 11th Central Committee plenum, thereby winning the support and trust of the majority of the people. People came to realize that the Estonian Communist Party, freeing itself from the burdens of the past, is capable of standing up for the future of Estonia and its people and of struggling for a humane and secure life.

Back at the end of last year it seemed that the program of activity elaborated by the party's progressive forces was sufficiently radical to lead Estonia to new heights. But the course of events in recent months has cogently shown how difficult and full of contradictions the road out of stagnation is.

The question inevitably arises: Did the Estonian Communist Party map out an incorrect action program? And is it incapable of analyzing and guiding the situation? Or is the development of society now so complex and contradictory that insurmountable confrontations are inevitable?

It was clear from the very start that democratization and glasnost would drag to the surface all the hitherto concealed social contradictions. Many tensions, injustices, and national and social contradictions that had been concealed and suppressed for decades have emerged. Despite every effort, disagreements between social groups have not decreased either. The positions of mass political movements not only are not drawing closer together, but sometimes are actually moving further apart. Different social movements have totally different concepts of the process of restructuring and its tasks, and extremist excesses have also emerged. In addition to everything else, many economic problems have considerably deteriorated in recent months. Many more goods are now in short supply, and many household concerns have not been alleviated but exacerbated. All this indicates that the old administrative edict economy is working spasmodically while the new economic mechanism is not yet in operation. In everyday life people feel that

restructuring has improved neither living standards nor the quality of life. Many problems have actually worsened, and tensions and discontent in society have increased markedly.

Some people blame the processes of restructuring itself for everything and see it even as a threat to socialism's achievements in Estonia.

Others regard our excessive slowness off the mark and our lack of initiative as the cause of the difficulties.

The elections of USSR people's deputies demonstrated that the people support restructuring, but expect resolute, consistent, and sensible actions from us. We have already determined for ourselves our common aims and ways of achieving them, at the 11th and 13th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenums. Now we must develop them, we must shift the center of gravity of party work to the local level—cities, rayons, labor collectives, and primary party organizations.

The 25 April CPSU Central Committee Plenum is of special importance for party work in conditions of restructuring, at the present very crucial stage of restructuring. The changes in the composition of the CPSU Central Committee were a very important political decision in the interests of the party, the people, our country, and socialism. "Life has brought us to this decision," M.S. Gorbachev noted, expressing gratitude to the comrades for their sense of responsibility and awareness of their party duty. It is natural for a change of generations to be taking place in the leadership.

Our plenum today has also received from a group of Central Committee members and candidate members, and also members of the Estonian Communist Party Auditing Commission, who have retired on pension or have left the republic, requests to be removed from the Estonian Communist Party elected organs. I hope that the Central Committee members will show understanding on this.

The recent CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the speech there by General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev were marked by party principledness, a sense of responsibility, exactingness, and a critical assessment of the progress of implementing the party's course of restructuring. For all the diversity and sometimes contradictoriness of opinions, the plenum cogently voiced the main thesis: Soviet people see the party as the only real and reliable political force capable of simultaneously ensuring both the renewal of society and consolidation.

The main direction of restructuring is this: Each region, republic, and rayon, taking their own potential and particular features into account, must themselves find the best path. We must determine this path for the

Estonian Communist Party today. The people expect action and tangible results from us in solving the real problems. As a ruling party we are directly answerable for what happens.

In the course of restructuring the party has cogently proved that it does not shirk off responsibility for the errors of the past. Even now, when assessing today's situation, we cannot disregard these events. The real experience of socialism came to Estonia with Stalinist deformations and crimes. The 1940 transformations were accompanied by violence and lawlessness camouflaged by noble slogans, by the restriction of democratic freedoms, and by unjustified brutality in the struggle against "class enemies." The ideas of socialism were irretrievably compromised by the deportations of 14 June 1941. That did much to prejudice Estonians against the new social system.

Unfortunately, everything continued in the same vein even after the liberation of Soviet Estonia from the fascist occupiers. The long-awaited land reform was followed by forced collectivization, which was prefaced by the exile of about 20,000 people to Siberia.

A blow to national cadres was struck by the 1950 Eighth Estonian Communist Party (Bolshevik) Central Committee Plenum, after which over 90 percent of Estonian-born leadership personnel were dismissed from their posts and many well-known cultural figures were repressed. With the sixties much of the industry of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] was placed under all-union jurisdiction. Enterprises whose raw materials and manpower were imported and whose output was exported began to be constructed in Estonia. The result was uncontrolled migration. In less than 50 years many millions of people have passed through Estonia, where fewer than 1 million Estonians live. In a single generation the proportion of Estonians in their motherland's population declined from 92 to 60 percent. As a result of the extensive development of the economy, there has been a steady decline in the number of Estonian workers in base sectors of industry, and this is having a far-reaching negative influence on the formation of national worker cadres and the national technical intelligentsia, and also on the national composition of the republican party organization.

This development led to difficulties in developing the social sphere and in solving the problems of housing and of satisfying consumer demands, and also to very serious ecological problems. The ecological and sociocultural situation is particularly dire in northeast Estonia.

In light of these circumstances, it is natural that most Estonians' perception of socialism has been influenced by these negative phenomena. The ideas of Bolshevism met with a broad response in Estonia back during the October Revolution, but rejection of the Estonian statehood offered by Lenin later brought the Estonian Bolsheviks into an isolated position. As a member of the

Comintern [Communist International] the Estonian Communist Party made a substantial contribution to disseminating the ideas of socialism. But, unfortunately, many of its leaders fell victim to Stalin's repressions.

The people pinned their hopes for the future on the slogans put forward during the events of June 1940. It should also not be forgotten that the Estonian Communists and people were always inclined toward innovation, both during the creation of the national economic councils and in the process of democratization in the early sixties. The restructuring that is now taking place is no exception. At the same time history has taught us an important lesson: Leftist errors on the nationalities question and the repudiation of peoples' desires for sovereignty have always undermined the Estonian Communists' prestige. Today the Estonian Communist Party has no right to repeat this mistake. After all, the future, the fate of the Estonian people and state are being decided.

By early 1988 the struggle of the intelligentsia and the public for the renewal had brought the indigenous population and the then leadership of the Estonian Communist Party to opposite sides of the barricades. Unfortunately, even after the change of leadership in the Estonian Communist Party the situation has remained highly complex and badly needed urgent assessments have not been publicly made. This too has prompted the different assessments of the Estonian Communist Party's policy of restructuring. While the majority of Estonians viewed restructuring with hope and welcomed its first steps, that can be said of by no means all representatives of other nationalities. Many of them have quite groundless misgivings that the steps that are being taken may signify a deviation from socialism or even discrimination on nationality grounds. Deficiencies on our part have played a role in this.

What have been our most substantial steps to date?

A central issue of restructuring is the modernization of the USSR's national state structure and the improvement of relations between the central authorities and the union republics. This was seriously discussed at the recent CPSU Central Committee Plenum too. M.S. Gorbachev noted at the plenum that neglected questions of improving the Soviet multinational federation are urgently on the agenda.

As a result of the nationalities policy during the personality cult and stagnation, the potential for development arising from Soviet society's national diversity is to a very considerable extent unrealized. The critical situation stemming from this in a number of regions attests that the future fate of the USSR as a multinational society largely depends on how far its national state structure can ensure coordination between the interests of sovereign republics and their peoples and ensure their real interest in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Restructuring in national relations means following

Lenin's nationalities policy and abandoning the great-power prejudices and stereotypes that took shape in the periods of Stalinism and stagnation.

Following the guidelines of the 11th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted the Estonian SSR Law on Language 18 January. This law is based on the Leninist thesis that "it is necessary to introduce the strictest rules regarding the use of national languages in the other national republics forming part of our union and to check these rules with particular care... A detailed code will be required here, and it can be drawn up with any success only by nationals living in the republic in question." The aim of the Estonian SSR Law on Language is not only to safeguard the future of the Estonian language but also to grant Estonians the opportunity to conduct all business in their motherland in their native language.

At the same time legal guarantees are envisaged for the Russian language and culture. The Estonian and Russian languages are equal in the transaction of individual business, and the Russian language remains to a considerable extent the working language of organs of state power and institutions in northeast Estonia, at Russian-speaking union plants, and, of course, in Russian-speaking schools and children's establishments. Tuition in the Russian language is also retained in higher educational institutions. It is perfectly obvious that this Law on Language will improve the situation in the future, though it will clearly take a longer time to achieve what it enshrines. Nevertheless, in the prevailing situation this law constitutes a compromise restoring Estonians' faith in the preservation of the nation and the development of their native language.

There was a time when we tried to forcibly wipe from the people's memory national symbols and their entire previous history. But time has shown that the people reliably remember the traditions and symbols of their history and identify with them. At the same time there are people in Estonia who settled here later and to whom the local national symbols are meaningless. Some of them identify Soviet power only with the symbols that existed in the places from where they came, and they may even see the restoration of local symbols as anti-Soviet or anti-Russian.

It is natural for people settling in Estonia to accept the symbols of this land. Indeed, many of the local Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, and representatives of other nationalities have taken an understanding view of the revival of national symbols.

The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee's course of restructuring is reviving Estonians' faith in the Soviet system. By the end of last year a more or less stable situation had taken shape in Estonia in which

businesslike cooperation with all the forces supporting restructuring expanded support for the party and provided the republic's leadership with the opportunity to act.

Using as a pretext the hoisting of the blue, black, and white national flag on the Big Herrmann tower, extremists immediately became more active and began to purposefully intensify differences between the interests of national groups. Certain groupings laying claim to a monopoly of national conscience assessed this act as an attempt by Communists to discredit the flag of the former Estonian Republic. On the other hand, thanks to the incitement of some members of the International Movement, there were charges of "creeping counterrevolution." It transpired that the so-called National Independence Party and certain activists of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments are interested not in real political progress but in returning to the times of the Estonian Republic. Meanwhile others are struggling against the slightest changes in Estonia's life from great power positions condemned by the policy of restructuring.

In the final days of February a draft party meeting resolution demanding in a categorical tone that the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee convene a meeting of the republic's party aktiv within 10 days and bearing the signature of the United Council of Labor Collectives Ideological Commission was circulated at union plants in Tallinn and Narva. The draft also prescribed the agenda and the norm for representation. This was an unprecedented step—a social movement issuing instructions not only to the Central Committee but to the republic's entire Communist Party. The Constituent Congress of the International Movement was held in a similar spirit 4 and 5 March in Tallinn and often voiced crude insults and threats instead of constructive criticism.

Both the 14 March rally and numerous meetings and speeches have shown that many non-Estonians now feel uncertain. What lies behind this uncertainty, what is worrying people and prompting them to join the movements? Most generally this uncertainty is caused by human concern over the future. Here is home for most of the people who have settled in Estonia. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee understands this human concern. It is quite natural for this uncertainty to have emerged as a reaction to Estonians' desire to be masters in their own land. Unfortunately, in a number of instances criticism of Stalinism and of the violence committed against Estonians has developed into criticism of the Russian people. The Russian people suffered as a result of Stalinism and the administrative edict economy just like all other USSR peoples and their losses were enormous. The local Russians, Ukrainians, and Belorussians are not to blame for the violence against the Estonian people.

Despite the fact that ending migration expresses the interests of all residents of Estonia, the argument over migration has in many respects acquired a national tinge. But it is clear that unchecked migration directly puts the nation's future in the balance. Our first steps to restore the nation's rights were for certain population groups a kind of alarm signal which prompted a negative attitude toward every decision by the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee or the government on rectifying errors in nationalities policy.

Yes, the steps we have taken have disrupted the former bogus calm. The restoration of the Estonian people's natural rights forces us to face up to the truth. There are many people today who do not show due respect toward the Estonian language, who display no interest whatever in Estonian culture and history, and who therefore totally refuse to acknowledge the truth that each nation is master in its own home. This way of thinking is a grim legacy of Stalinism and the period of stagnation that can be overcome only with great difficulty.

The disruption of the bogus calm has prompted many questions. How will events develop in the future? And what is the republic's leadership, which is consistently steering a course toward sovereignty, trying to achieve? What does this sovereignty actually mean? Will the opinion of non-Estonians be taken into account? Or will they not be recognized as citizens of the Estonian SSR and will everything be done behind their back?

These questions have become even sharper in view of the recent statements by the People's Front. The question of Estonia's future interests not only us but the entire union. Every politician must realize that the people ultimately pay with their future for the choice of a particular path of development. This is too high a price to pay for an error. In its declaration "On National Self-Determination" the People's Front comes out with the idea that "Estonian statehood... can... develop only in the direction of restoring the legal continuity of the statehood interrupted in 1940." But can world history show even a single case in which a state which de facto ceased to exist 50 years previously has been revived? It is unrealistic to build a policy from the present to the past. An appeal to the international public is too fragile a political base for achieving goals that are fateful for the people. As far as the fate of Estonia is concerned, the Estonian Communist Party adheres to a totally different strategy. The Estonian people's future must be ensured by realistic political steps together with all the country's restructuring forces.

The Estonian SSR must become a real form of Estonians' statehood. It is not so difficult now to create in the republic a situation capable of blocking real restructuring and leading to the gravest consequences. We may be accused of moving too slowly, but on the other hand, thanks to our serious approach to every decision, we have so far been able to avoid errors and to be responsible for the fate of the Estonian people. Any force

appropriating the right to act independently of the republic's leading organs must foresee and answer for the possible consequences. Even a split in society at such a crucial time for the people's fate would presuppose the existence of fundamental disagreements. Conflict with the CPSU's progressive leadership would mean losing our main support. As realistic politicians, we still hope for the former cooperation with the People's Front within Estonian society.

The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee is well aware that in this situation the concern for the future felt by the Russian-speaking population is no accident.

Let it be said once more with total clarity that the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee is seeking the development of Estonia's autonomy within the USSR and regards the attainment of sovereignty for the Estonian SSR as one of the main tasks of restructuring. This aim is served by all the legislative acts we have adopted to date. The Estonian Communist Party cooperates with all social movements supporting the course of restructuring and resolutely opposes any attempts to forcibly impose its own vision on the organs of power and the government. It is opposed to threats and ultimatums. We are also opposed to demands by any social or national group for the revision or suspension of any law already adopted by our Supreme Soviet. A rule-of-law state cannot be based on violation of the laws. That has nothing in common with democracy.

We realize that the movements and their leaders that are doing their utmost to inflame passions cannot be identified with the entire population or a specific nation. The overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of Estonia sincerely want peace and prosperity in our common home and are prepared to work for this.

The United Council of Labor Collectives has put to the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum questions that today's plenum must answer. The first is this: Has socialism been built in the USSR? Or does our society totally run counter to the nature of socialism? This question was answered by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. Although it can be asserted clearly that the elimination of all the negative phenomena and social discrepancies that have obtruded into our life will bring our society closer to the socialist ideals. It is scarcely possible to discuss such a huge question at our plenum today.

Another range of questions concerned ethnic relations. As far as these are concerned, the only possible basis for harmonious ethnic relations is the recognition of the inalienable right of nations to self-determination and the possibility of exercising that right. This also presupposes the indivisibility of the territory of the indigenous nation. It is entirely natural that in a truly federal union state it is necessary resolutely to renounce the principle that has hitherto prevailed, whereby union organs can

resolve all issues that seem to them to be important enough. The further development of the USSR's union republics should take place in conditions of their sovereignty.

The sovereignty of the union republic means that the republic, in the form of its highest organs of power, administration, and justice, has supreme power in its own territory. We have yet to define clearly the range of questions falling within the exclusive competence of the village soviet, the rayon soviet, and the city soviet, and in particular the union republic. Measures to curtail the tyranny of central departments therefore proved necessary in order to ensure the republic's sovereignty. These measures can only be assessed as a logical step toward ensuring the republic's constitutional rights, a step against attempts to move toward a unitarian state.

The legal basis for the USSR as a union of states could be provided by a Union Treaty, which will define those questions that remain under the jurisdiction of the union and those whose resolution falls exclusively within the competence of the republic. The list of matters transferred to the competence of the union should be definitive. At the same time the conclusion of a union treaty is a political act that will offer the opportunity to rid ourselves of the legacy of Stalinist foreign policy. That would create a real basis for cooperation among all the peoples of the USSR in the spirit of mutual trust and interest.

The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, whose 50th anniversary is approaching, should be declared invalid. In the conditions of restructuring the events of 1939-1940 have taken on a special resonance, and they should be the subject of a clear, political assessment at the highest union level too. I delivered our petition at the CPSU Central Committee Foreign Policy Commission, and I can state that these questions are currently being studied.

The harmonization of ethnic relations presupposes that the exercise of the indigenous population's rights is not in conflict with the general principle of human rights, whereby human rights do not depend on nationality. An essential preliminary condition for the participation of enterprises under union jurisdiction in the restructuring process is their facing up to Estonia's problems. After all, it goes without saying that those who seek rights in Estonia should by the same token take on duties and responsibilities.

We welcome the program objective of the United Council of Labor Collectives to promote the integration of the republic's national economy and the production of consumer goods that are needed in the republic. But it was the lack of attention, until now, on the part of some of the enterprises belonging to the United Council of Labor Collectives toward the development of the social sphere that led to considerable social injustice and the growth of interethnic tensions. True, this cannot be said of all enterprises under union jurisdiction. Some of them took

the trouble to embark on the resolution of these questions on their own initiative. Clear examples of this are the "Baltiyets" plant and certain others.

That is our answer to some of the questions raised by the United Council of Labor Collectives, which largely coincide with the demands put forward at the 14 March rally.

In conditions where a political system inherited from the past was no longer capable of quenching the people's thirst for democracy, a great many social organizations and movements sprang up in Estonia, creating wide and diverse opportunities for participation in politics. Their role in the development of the restructuring process and the rallying of people under the banners of democratization can hardly be overestimated.

The Estonian "Green" movement, which began during the days of the so-called phosphorite debate, gave a powerful boost to the development of the people's ecological awareness. The joint plenum of the creative unions boards, convened on the unions' own initiative, was a significant step along the path of restructuring whose importance can hardly be overestimated. In the spring of 1988 the People's Front, a force that supports the renewal process, sprang up. But by virtue of the specific characteristics of politics that had taken shape in Estonia, the People's Front began to implement its desires for renewal largely under national banners. Unfortunately people of other nationalities were not involved in its activity to a sufficient extent. This gave rise to the emergence of the Constituent Congress of the International Movement and then, on the basis of union enterprises, the United Council of Labor Collectives. Labor collectives under local jurisdiction united to form the Union of Labor Collectives.

It would be unjust to overlook the work of the Estonian Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments in restoring our people's historical memories and revealing historical truth.

An association of rural workers called the Agrarian Union is now emerging. Its formation must without fail take account of the fact that it is being set up to resolve our farmers' problems. Personal ambition and group interests should be decisively rejected by the wise peasant.

So we have all witnessed how the initial pluralism of views and differences of positions grew into a multiplicity of organizational activity. The potential of the new democratic movements has expanded. Soviet power has embarked on the registration of people's movements, recognizing them as partners in cooperation to resolve republican affairs. The movements have wide opportunities for explanatory work and an access to the channels of mass information. This only applies, of course, to those movements that operate within the framework of the Fundamental Law and existing legislation.

Unfortunately extremist groupings have contributed to the division of society according to nationality. Extreme trends have emerged, on the one hand, in the form of the so-called Estonian National Independence Party, with which some of the members of other movements, especially the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, have now begun to cooperate. However, largely thanks to the position of the People's Front, their extremism was unable substantially to destabilize the political situation. But this danger is very real, and requires a clear political assessment. In the speeches of some representatives of the Constituent Congress of the International Movement, antirestructuring slogans and the desire to direct political activity into extremist forms, up to and including the formation of a republican strike committee, are increasingly coming to the fore. That is unacceptable to us.

Associations that are supposed to unite people on the basis of enthusiasms and interests, like the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, the United Council of Labor Collectives, the Union of Labor Collectives, and the Estonian "Green" movement, have also become politicized. Here too the desire is sometimes manifested to politicize the differences between the interests of Estonians and non-Estonians and try to set the two groups' aspirations against each other.

Some people promise to resolve all the problems facing society at a stroke by "imposing order." Others try to convince people that the panacea that will rid Estonia of all its "sores" is its immediate and complete separation from the USSR. Increasingly gross utterances and declarations are put into circulation.

Through the formation of citizens' committees the so-called Estonian National Independence Party, and recently also some of the leaders of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, have embarked on an unconstructive path and set themselves up against the movement for restructuring, and with their slogans they are hampering the real safeguarding of the republic's sovereignty. It is clear that the attempt to create an alternative power structure goes beyond the bounds permitted by existing laws.

Naturally, the differences of interests in society are reflected in politics too. Effective politics requires compromises between political forces. It is pointless to expect mutual understanding to appear of its own accord. Realistic politics demands the abandonment of extremist methods and patently unrealistic demands that could lead to the splitting of society and unpredictable consequences.

It is particularly important in this context to take into account Estonia's specific nature. Actions incited by forces that are outside Estonia and the borrowing of slogans and models of activity from them can only lead to the abyss. After all, people do not want a ruined home

filled with hatred and built on brute force and primitive instincts. Our goal is a humane, civilized Estonia with secure economic and political development, open to the outside world.

Another essential prerequisite of realistic politics is a change in the ethos of political relations. It is inappropriate to adopt political decisions in the streets, to the accompaniment of emotional outbursts by an excited crowd. Instead of this, what is needed is an exchange of opinions among people's representatives at the conference table and in parliament. For some reason, a preference has recently emerged for operating "on the sly". Instead of tackling something together, people try to resolve it in a small group and impose their decision on others as final, via the radio, television, newspapers, and journals. The policy of pressure, as a rule, leads nowhere. It is necessary to choose those methods and channels that are most effective and contribute to constructive politics, not those that enable their organizers to worm their way into the center of general attention and that lead to confrontation.

Instead of the emphasis being placed on real, practical activity, the public mind is often focused solely on fault-finding and criticism. There are also a good many people who exploit restructuring for purposes that have nothing in common with restructuring and democratization. I have in mind those who, under the slogans of restructuring, pursue the interests of a department or small grouping and exploit democratization in order to make antirestructuring moves.

Organizing demonstrations and rallies is not all that much of an art. Proclaiming people, at rallies or in the press, to be enemies of the people is, one would like to hope, a phase we have left behind. But attempts to do this are still encountered today.

Various movements and social groupings in Estonia seek with enviable zeal to show their political activeness at the very highest political level and to focus their contradictions on the Tallinn City Party Committee [gorkom], or even better the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee or the republic government. Here we are dealing with an overpoliticization of social activity at the highest level. It is therefore no wonder that things sometimes are taken to ridiculous lengths, with any speech or polemical article in a newspaper leading to demands for an immediate "resolute" assessment by the Central Committee. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau cannot be expected to give various public figures conduct marks every day. In the strained political situation, not even the most cohesive and efficient Central Committee is capable of resolving all the questions that arise at various levels and are that focused on the Central Committee. On the other hand, it is also true that the Central Committee should give an assessment of political questions that destabilize the

situation or damage restructuring. In this respect criticism of the Central Committee, and first and foremost of its Bureau and Secretariat, is justified. The party gorkoms and rayon committees [raykoms] should also share in this criticism.

The recent elections of USSR people's deputies clearly showed the people's support for the course of the 11th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum. The voting confirmed that for all their efforts, the extremists who tried to dramatize the situation in the republic and called for a boycott of the elections received no significant support. That gives the Estonian Communist Party the right to continue what it began. At the same time no single labor collective has the right to identify itself with the entire people or working class. In the event of further differences of opinion everyone should honestly represent only himself and put forward only those slogans that reveal in practice the true interests of those who are involved in the cause. Obviously, it would be expedient to set up a consultative council at the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, made up of representatives of social movements, where the main questions of our public life could be discussed and preliminary work done to seek possible political solutions.

As democratization proceeds, the role of public opinion also grows, and that means the role of the mass media in our society. It is quite wrong to see a particular statement or article as a cause of political tension. The press reflects life itself.

The pluralism of opinion that characterizes restructuring, and the opinions and actions of various movements, are revealed through the press. This has placed the editorial offices in an unaccustomed position: Censorship of political topics has disappeared, and the customary party interference has also gone. In the new situation the personal responsibility of every journalist and editorial office leader is increased, and their political competence and experience become decisive.

All the movements are currently trying to bring pressure to bear on the newspapers and journals so as to obtain maximum publicity for their own viewpoints. Appeals, open letters, demands, and even ultimatums have become a genre in themselves. In this situation journalists should be careful and show the political gumption to keep to the party line and resist appeals that provoke and exacerbate the situation. It is impermissible to publish extremist viewpoints, especially in party publications. Editorial office leaders are first and foremost politicians, and they should be able to foresee the consequences of their actions.

Against the background of these demands, one cannot but be dissatisfied with *MAALEHT*, which quite often publishes items that run counter to the aspirations of the Estonian Communist Party. Why should the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee newspaper demand, in an open letter written basically from the

standpoint of the Estonian National Independence Party, an answer from one of the People's Front leaders? It was also wrong to publish in *SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA* immediately before the elections a "league table of popularity" of Estonian politicians drawn up on the basis of highly dubious criteria.

Our sole party theory journal, *KOMMUNIST ESTONII*, should also play a far more active and interesting part in the resolution of the problems facing the republic. The activity of party raykoms in leading their publications cannot be regarded as satisfactory. In some cases the question arises: Whose organs are, for instance, the *Vyruskiy* and *Paydeskiy* rayon newspapers? Party exactingness toward the press is particularly necessary today at both rayon and republican level.

In recent weeks passions have become particularly inflamed on the subject of the Army. Army problems and the destiny of our sons who are in the Army are, of course, relevant to us, but ultimatums, appeals, and incitement to rallies and law-breaking can hardly help impose order in the Army. Constructive and sensible measures are needed here. In accordance with the decisions of the 13th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, we submitted a number of proposals to USSR Defense Minister Comrade Yazov, and we hope for a positive decision on them. With a view to achieving rapid, concrete changes in the organization of Army service, as well as investigating and summarizing the alarm signals received from the Army, we propose the creation of an appropriate commission at the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. It is clear that this work cannot be done without the participation of professional military representatives of the public. We want our young men to do their Army service primarily in the Baltic Military District.

Comrades! The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee sees the main task at the next stage of restructuring in concrete activity to resolve socioeconomic and political problems at the level of the republic, rayons, cities, and labor collectives. Our policy of renewal should gain real socioeconomic content. The general political slogans: IME [Estonian self-management], sovereignty, consolidation, nationalities policy, reform of the political system, and so forth—must be translated into the language of concrete action at the level of rayons, cities, and labor collectives.

At republican level the central task is the continued reform of the political system and the further democratization of public life.

Today we can say that the decisions adopted at republic Supreme Soviet sessions indicated the path we must follow. Basically our decisions acted as an impetus that prompted efforts at union level, too, in the sphere of the regulation of relations between the center and the union republic, and drew wide attention to the key problems in this sphere that require tackling.

We see new potential for safeguarding the republics' sovereignty in the newly elected USSR Congress of People's Deputies. In view of the approaching CPSU Central Committee Plenum on the nationalities issue, the USSR people's deputies we have elected must actively make clear our positions on the problems that exist in the republic at the very first session of the Congress of People's Deputies. A package of legislative initiatives to ensure the creation of a rule-of-law state must be formulated.

As for a multiparty system, it must be said right away that the present level of democracy permits very broad political pluralism within the framework of socialist democracy. Our social movements participate actively in political life, thereby ensuring the representation of all the main social forces in politics.

Contradictory and sometimes condemnatory opinions are being voiced over the 8 April USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on amendments to the law on criminal responsibility for state crimes. This decree is subject to ratification at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies or the Supreme Soviet. Our group of deputies is formulating its position on the basis of the opinions expressed by the public, and will submit it, along with constructive proposals, in the course of the discussion of the decree in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

We cannot here pass over in silence the tragedy that happened in Tbilisi on 9 April. Probably the most accurate assessment of it was given at the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum by E.A. Shevardnadze, who said that no one and nothing can justify the death of innocent people. We have a single, supreme duty to them—to establish the truth and exclude forever even the slightest possibility of a repetition of the tragedy.

I think we are all in solidarity with this, and we demand that there should be no room in the restructuring process for officials who are unable to renounce obsolete views.

However, reforms cannot, of course, be confined only to the levels referred to; many other things, throughout the system, also need changing. Therefore we have set about tackling questions that concern the local soviets of people's deputies. A change in the intrarepublican system of administration requires the administrative reform of villages, districts [volosti], and cities. One of the principles of the proposals currently being drafted for legislation on republican economic accountability is to widen as far as possible the rights of the local soviets and their economic autonomy, on the basis that all local problems should, in general, be resolved locally. And the resolution of these questions should take place democratically and with glasnost, and opportunities and resources must be made available for that purpose.

We propose to the plenum that we embark on the formation of representative people's power from bottom to top. To this end it is necessary first of all to formulate an administrative reform of self-management organs, on the basis of which to hold elections in districts, settlements, and city rayons. At the same time elections to city and rayon soviets should be held. Thus organs of power with the people's mandate would be formed. Taking into account existing legislation, which allows the holding of elections 4 months after their announcement, it would be realistic to hold them in early November.

Working on the basis of those organs of power, elections to the republic Supreme Soviet should be held in February of next year. That would give us the opportunity to prepare thoroughly for both election campaigns and, even more importantly, to carry out a smooth transfer of power to the soviets.

The transformation of yesterday's monopoly of power into people's self-management at all levels must become a reality. Party organs are renouncing command methods in the national economy and the social sphere, handing over full power to the soviets. Policy and ideology remain the party's affair.

The second, and basically most important, avenue of restructuring policy is the development of the republic's economy. At republican level this means, first and foremost, a switch from command-and-administer relations to economic relations.

The results of past years show that the socioeconomic problems that have arisen in the republic cannot be resolved by means of partial reforms, which retain the fragmented nature of economic jurisdiction and do not radically change the economic mechanism. This is the purpose of IME.

Those who see IME as separatism should offer clear alternatives. The course of the radical economic reform hitherto has shown convincingly that an economic restructuring that uses the same methods for all regions is ineffective. At the level of the USSR Council of Ministers it is recognized that in conceptual terms we must proceed on the basis of regional economic accountability and that the union republics and economic regions must go over to the new conditions gradually, as they are ready to do so. Our IME project is more radical. We believe our people are ready, for the sake of improving their living standard, to face all the difficulties involved in the switch to new economic management conditions. Half-hearted steps are no use here, because there is no point in working harder while the printing presses are still printing rubles that have nothing to back them. The fruits of our labor are simply drowned in a sea of money that there are no goods to cover. In future we must radically change the structure of the economy of a republic where in industry alone more than 100 sectors are currently represented, and where the biggest enterprises import raw materials, equipment, and sometimes

manpower, and export their finished products. And the average distance that the goods are shipped is something in the region of 2,000 km. And the extensive development of production is continuing: Whereas in 1985 we were building 560 production facilities, now 680 are planned, and the volume of uncompleted construction increases every year. Only a little over one-fourth of the resources are channeled into updating production. All this runs flagrantly counter to sensible economic management. Given this state of affairs, you can argue about the paths taken by IME, but you cannot dispute the essence of republican economic accountability.

By way of providing a political basis for IME, we at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee have set ourselves the task of obtaining backing from the union organs for the implementation of IME. To this end it is necessary to overcome two dangerous trends within the republic. On the one hand, some of the originators of IME take up a position that could be characterized very concisely with the words "all or nothing." Instead of engaging in practical action, they politicize the principle of action. On the other hand, the United Council of Labor Collectives vacillates on the question of republican economic accountability. This is because some of the enterprises, under the conditions of IME, lose their privileges and extraterritorial economic management conditions. They are reluctant to accept that. Talking about the economy, there is no point in dwelling in detail on our priority sector—agriculture. On the one hand, the CPSU Central Committee March Plenum opened up wide opportunities here for us to develop our own production relations and forms of organizational work. Our republic's positions were voiced at the plenum and met with support. On the other hand, a serious discussion lies ahead at the next Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, in June. But in order to conduct that serious discussion we must ensure that a businesslike discussion takes place beforehand in the party organizations and among peasants and scientists. Here the processing sectors should be equal partners. The republic government, in order to satisfy agriculture's needs, must place the necessary orders at our industrial enterprises, irrespective of their affiliation. It is the duty of industrial leaders to show the greatest goodwill in order at last to get things moving here. And the republic government made technical errors in formulating the program for the transition for IME. This work was not made public in time and the authors of the IME program and the public were not sufficiently involved in it. The problems of the republic's switch to full economic accountability will be examined in detail at a meeting of the party and economic aktiv, with the participation of scientists, convened for 11 May. What would I like to emphasize today?

First, the IME program is like Tallinn—it will probably never be possible to say that we have finished building it. Therefore one cannot expect to find in the program final, unequivocal answers to every question and detailed calculations. Many problems can only be resolved in the

process of the transition to economic accountability. The outline contains a number of proposals that are a major step toward improving the economic mechanism, but they need further theoretical study and validation.

The launch and development of republican economic accountability requires a thorough theoretical study of such matters as the diversity of forms of ownership and their mutual proportions, financial and credit policy, the relationship between the planning and market economy in the socialist society, the principles of pricing, and priorities in the national economy and support for them in terms of specific action and material and other resources.

Second, on the basis of the new economic mechanism contained in the IME outline, it is necessary to formulate the main avenues of development of the republic's national economy in the coming years. That document should answer questions like these: What are the prospects for the development of the most important sectors of the republic's national economy; what resources can we channel into the development of the social sphere, and what resources into the development of the production sphere, ensuring, on the one hand, the growth of the population's prosperity, and on the other extended reproduction in the national economy? It is clear that without developing production and making a profit, you cannot find resources for the development of the social sphere and the conservation of the environment.

The main avenues of development of the national economy should be formulated by the republic government before the end of the year, before the republic goes over to economic accountability.

Third, the IME program has thus far been developed mainly at republican level. After the approval of the conceptual principles of the new economic mechanism, the center of gravity should shift to sectors of the national economy, cities, and rayons. The IME outline will provide a clear basis and opportunities for the organization of economic activity, but the labor collectives must give it real content.

The republic government must formulate clear initial positions defining the activity of enterprises, organizations, and farms under the new economic conditions.

The economic situation in the republic is extremely complex and contradictory. The contradiction continues to be exacerbated between the high percentage plan fulfillment on the one hand, and the people's real quality of life on the other.

In the 1st quarter of this year the main plan targets and state orders were fulfilled. The number of workers in material production fell by nearly 4,000. Manpower immigration was halved. Over 5 percent more consumer goods were produced compared with last year, and retail trade turnover increased by 10 percent.

One conclusion can be drawn from this: namely that the switching of enterprises, organizations, and farms to full economic accountability and self-financing gives them an incentive to make better use of our immediate internal reserves.

But at the same time contradictions were exacerbated precisely because the new economic mechanism was not introduced on a comprehensive basis. True, the role of administrative regulators was reduced, but the market mechanism is not yet in operation. This often enables people to live well while ignoring the interests of the consumers and society. At many enterprises and organizations payments from the material incentive fund are growing unjustifiably. Thus in the 1st quarter payments from the wage fund increased by more than 6 percent, while payments from the material incentive fund in the form of bonuses increased by one-fourth.

Collective farm [kolkhoz] members' labor remuneration increased 19 percent. The growth of labor productivity lagged considerably behind the increase in average wages. That is the main reason why a strained situation has developed in the money supply, such that cash payments exceed income by R26 million. Nor did control on the part of the banks produce any great results in terms of imposing order in the money supply, because state committees and ministries laid down for many enterprises a normative for the growth in average wages in the 1st quarter that was higher than the growth in labor productivity. In the Estonian SSR State Committee for Construction Affairs system this was true of more than half the enterprises and organizations, while in the State Agro-Industrial Committee it was true of 40 percent. In many economic organizations, especially at small enterprises and cooperatives, they live according to the principle: Take what you can today, then we shall see. This mood of being "king for a day" is the reason why they show little concern for updating production potential and output. The pace of scientific and technical progress and the renewal of fixed capital is inadequate this year. The need for very strict economies could be added to this.

Social tensions are exacerbated by weak performance discipline and insufficient monitoring of the fulfillment of decisions both by the government and by the republic party organs. It was noted at both the 11th and the 13th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenums that the main objective of the party's economic strategy is the resolution of the vital problems of the people's life. But in many respects these fine decisions and words remained only on paper. How else can we explain the fact that today, as in the past, construction work on facilities in the social sphere is poor and the list of goods for which the population's demand is not satisfied has increased? This year the total housing area commissioned out of state capital investments was 17 percent less than in the 1st quarter of last year, and only 11.5 percent of the year's target for housing commissioning was fulfilled. Housing commissioning in Tallinn fell

considerably. Only 13-13.5 percent of the annual quota of capital investments for the construction of children's institutions and health care facilities was assimilated. The state of the natural environment did not improve. The plan for consumer goods production was not fulfilled by nine enterprises in the 1st quarter. All this indicates that for many Communist economic managers and party organizations the party's demand for a resolute improvement in the state of affairs in the social sphere falls on deaf ears. Party committees are often in a state of confusion in defining their functions in the leadership and organization of socioeconomic processes. They try to think up something new and original. And sometimes they forget their main task—to implement in the localities, by political methods, the party's policy and the decisions adopted. It is hard to define to what extent a particular problem is political or economic. The party committees themselves should be the first to have a sense of this, based on the concrete situation. But one thing is clear—every problem is political to the extent that it affects the basic interests of the inhabitants of the city or rayon, of all of us.

The third important avenue of activity for party committees is to take restructuring to the level that is our basic level: that of the rayon and city. It is here that the decisive changes should take place. A city or rayon is not only a territory or an administrative unity; it is first and foremost the people who live on the given territory, in whose interests everything is done. But the only living environment for people is one in which they themselves can change things through their own activity, in which they feel they are the masters.

Of course, local development requires first and foremost money and other resources, and it is well known that the regions often lack these resources for the resolution of social problems. The only possible solution here is to involve enterprises and their resources in the development of the social sphere. That requires joint activity by enterprises and cooperation with territorial management organs.

The role of union enterprises should be stepped up considerably; some of them still remain aloof from the resolution of questions of the social sphere, leaving it to the local soviets and the republic. It can be said confidently that until union enterprises become involved in the development of the social sphere locally and in the resolution of problems of education, culture, health care, nature conservation, transportation, and so forth, life will not improve for the workers at the union enterprises, or for anyone else. A great deal also depends on the enterprise of the local soviets themselves. One could cite as an example Kingiseppskiy Rayon Soviet, which, without waiting for instructions or additional powers "from above," found ways of resolving social problems, and is actively developing foreign ties.

We now talk a great deal about restructuring of the party apparatus, and in general all the work of the republic party organization, democratization of the party, greater

autonomy in the activity of all party components and in decisionmaking, financial autonomy, self-regulation of the structure of the party apparatus, and much more. These are questions of vital importance, and they are of great significance for the effectiveness of the work of party committees and primary organizations. One of the most important factors in restructuring in the party is the reorganization of the party apparatus, which has taken place in party raykoms and gorkoms and also in the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

The main task of the reorganization was to change the style of party leadership, overcome the omnipotence of the apparatus, and abandon the centralized resolution of all issues. This means that under the new conditions more enterprising, flexible activity is required of the grassroots components in resolving local problems and in formulating general political and ideological questions. As of today the party apparatus is reorganized, but are we entitled to claim that party committees at every level, up to the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, are operating in the spirit of restructuring? Obviously not. The inertia of the past is still too strong, and very often party committees, in exercising leadership of public life, avoid taking decisions that could prove unpopular among certain population groups. Instead of reacting promptly, they prefer to pass on the decisionmaking to the Central Committee. Not infrequently, decisions are taken at rayon level, under pressure from certain movements, that go against the interests of the republican party organization and the principles of the recent Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenums.

The restructuring process should also proceed more rapidly at the level of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. Half of its departments are not yet fully staffed, there is no cooperation between departments, and the new functions and work style are only just being formulated. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has not recently carried out a serious analysis of intraparty life and the problems of party committees, and insufficient attention has been devoted to monitoring the fulfillment of the decisions adopted. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee commissions have not begun to operate at full strength, nor has there been a change in the direction of the tackling of key, strategic issues in the work of the Bureau and Secretariat.

All this has a negative effect not only on the work of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, but also on the leadership of local party committees. In a number of party raykoms and gorkoms performance discipline and monitoring of the work of primary party organizations have become slack.

The weakest links in the organizational and political work of a whole series of party raykoms and gorkoms and primary party organizations were revealed particularly clearly in the course of the recent report and

election campaign. At many party conferences the whole discussion revolved around the "sore points" in the republic, and general political resolutions were adopted, rather than concrete decisions that would form a program of practical action.

The center of social activeness is now shifting to rayon and city level. People realize that they themselves must organize local life. The alienation between the authorities and the people is disappearing. In this process people regard the raykom as the personification of the alienated authorities. Overcoming this stereotype and resolving questions of rayon and city life democratically and with glasnost—that is the main question in the restructuring process this year.

Since the party gorkoms and raykoms, as the basic components of the republican party organization, are now in the most dynamic state, I do not wish to analyze their activity in more detail. After all, each of them operates under its own conditions. But I consider it necessary to remind them that they have to justify their leading role in the localities.

The next component in which the party's course of restructuring is put into practice is the primary party organizations. It is very important that in the recent reports and elections the aktiv of the primary party organizations received a vote of confidence from Communists for the implementation of restructuring. As of 1 April there were 2,927 primary party organizations within the republican party organization. There can be only one criterion for assessing their activity today—participation in the restructuring process.

Only an active life stance and a constant struggle for restructuring enable the primary party organizations to be in the vanguard of their collectives. We must also take into account that in the course of the recent report and election campaign the party aktiv in the shop organizations was reduced by nearly one-fourth.

The situation in the party is also characterized by the trend toward a reduction in party ranks: Last year membership of the Estonian Communist Party fell by 1,126. The number of Estonians in the party is continuing to fall, mainly as a result of people leaving the party. Admissions to the party are also insufficient.

In the quest for a new work style many highly efficient and effective forms of party work were jettisoned. Many party organizations fail to devote due attention to the economic, production, and social activity of labor collectives. Now that IME is entering the stage of being put into practice, we must pursue a policy with a view to transferring the labor collectives to new economic management conditions.

Many problems in the work of the republican party organization arise, in our view, from the fact that Communists are "ashamed" to champion the party line in the collectives and have stopped doing real ideological work and publicizing and implementing party decisions.

Communists in some party organizations blend in, so to speak, with the nonparty mass, or, conversely, the impression created is that for some Communists membership of the party has become something secondary in their life, while priority significance is attached to their membership of some kind of movement or informal association whose programs and statutes are more binding on them than the party Statutes and Program.

These thoughts were also prompted by the election platforms of some Communists running as candidate USSR people's deputies.

All the republic's Communists and primary party organizations bear full responsibility for the implementation of restructuring. In our activity we must seek ideological and organizational unity, because the party's combat capability depends first and foremost on this. Today it is an objective fact that the democratization process leads to diversity of opinions and viewpoints, but we are opposed to Communists' heading so-called strike committees or joining "Citizens of Estonia" committees and other antirestructuring associations.

At the 11th and 13th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenums it was stated that the activity of these Communists must be the subject of a principled and strict assessment, and this should come, first and foremost, from the party. If such actions occur among leadership cadres, we should seek their replacement, too. We should be guided by this criterion in all our party components.

All this indicates the complex situation in the party. One of the main demands on the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee made at the 14 March rally was the demand to hold a republican party conference with direct elections of delegates. A demand for an extraordinary Estonian Communist Party congress has been made in many party organizations and in speeches. This is justified usually in terms of the desire to give a party assessment of the political situation prevailing in the republic. Many Communists and primary organizations have expressed the fear that the republican party organization is again losing the initiative, is incapable of forestalling political events, and sometimes is left tailing along behind.

Comrades! As a ruling party with full responsibility for the republic's future, we should recognize that haste and impulsiveness can come costly in politics. Especially since in our party organization's conditions any wrong decision carries a danger of division along national lines.

We should also take into account without fail that in today's political situation the party represents not the interests of a particular section of society, but the main interests of society as a whole. It is quite clear that debates and polemics in the party and different opinions on particular issues are a natural phenomenon. But our strength lies in demanding, on the basis of party principles, that all Communists and all party committees implement collectively adopted decisions resolutely and without fail.

As for the specific demand to convene an extraordinary party congress, today's plenum has powers to decide this question finally, but I would like to express the opinion of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

The Central Committee Bureau believes that in the present situation we must find intelligent political solutions that are in accordance with the main aims of restructuring. That does not require an extraordinary congress or a conference. It simply requires more trust, understanding of the problems of each ethnic group, and also the definition of priority tasks that would unite all Communists in the interests of the republic and help them to march in the vanguard of restructuring.

These priority tasks, in our view, are, first and foremost: the IME outline, which has been submitted for discussion by the people and which should unite the interests of the vast majority of the republic's population in resolving economic, social, and political problems. It is also necessary to make a real start on preparing a draft program of action for the Estonian Communist Party, prepare for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on interethnic relations, and prepare draft laws in connection with the reform of our political system. And that is just the program for the immediate future. To depart from this program by commencing preparations for an extraordinary congress or conference in an atmosphere of growing conflict would be to retard the restructuring process as a whole.

Our plenum today has also to express a clear view on the Estonian Communist Party program of action. Some thoughtless critics have already labeled this idea as separatism. But that accusation is unfounded. After all, clearly the CPSU Program has provided and continues to provide guidance for Estonia's Communists, too. But we ourselves must tackle our complex problems today on the basis of the local situation. The Estonian Communist Party needs a program of action to provide a clear and profound assessment of the existing situation, define the Estonian Communist Party's responsibility for the deformations that occurred in the past, and specify the main avenues of development of restructuring and the limits of the Estonian Communist Party's autonomy.

Here the main position is clear and obvious to everyone: Increasing the magnetic force and political role of the Estonian Communist Party means a widening of autonomy in decisionmaking.

The Estonian Communist Party, as the party of a national republic, proceeds on the basis that the Estonian SSR is an economically self-regulating component of the Soviet Union, a union based on the Leninist principles of federalism.

The basis of the Estonian Communist Party's economic policy is the program of republican economic accountability. The republican party organization believes that a real upsurge in the living standard is possible only if urgent questions are resolved by new methods. In this context neither the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee nor the party gorkoms and raykoms will renounce the most direct influence on political issues that affect all the inhabitants of Estonia, such as the development of ownership relations, the regulation of immigration, regional questions of social policy, political aspects of the Law on Citizenship, and other problems that are of vital importance for Communists and all the inhabitants.

The Estonian Communist Party should exercise its leadership role in society not only by virtue of its constitutional rights, but first and foremost through activity that accords with the interests of the socialist society's development. Otherwise the Estonian Communist Party's prestige and the rallying of all the population around it are inconceivable. In view of the special significance of this party document, any haste in drafting it can only be damaging.

A procedure must be defined for preparing and discussing the Estonian Communist Party program of action. Obviously today's plenum must adopt an appropriate resolution on this question, defining the basic motives and objectives of the document "On the Estonian Communist Party Program of Action," and appoint a commission. The theses of the draft document should be discussed first at an Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau session, and then submitted for discussion by the people.

At the last plenum we agreed that an intraparty debate is needed on this matter. But the debate should have limits based on principles arising from the party's ideological and organizational foundations.

In our view the debate in the party could begin with a conference of secretaries of the republic's primary party organizations, and then continue in all the shop and primary party organizations. It should be completed this fall at party gorkom and raykom plenums, and then summed up at an Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenum.

The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee has not yet succeeded in involving all party organizations in resolving the main tasks of restructuring. We hope today's plenum will be a turning point in this respect. In order to cope with the complex tasks of the all-around restructuring of society, it is necessary to rid ourselves of

the burden of many former ideas and convictions and find sufficient strength and courage, as well as understanding and patience. We should give serious thought to the ethical aspects of party work. A party worker's behavior and his moral standard are reflected in his prestige among the people. Our political activity can only be based on broad, in-depth interpretation of existing problems and on unanimous actions. Only thus can the Estonian Communist Party as a political organization carry along with it all the forces that support Estonia's development. Our mood as we leave here today, whether we understand one another or accuse one another, will determine how we look at each other and the people tomorrow. Today one cannot act only on the basis of internal analysis; it is necessary to give serious consideration to external factors, too. This analysis should form the principled basis of the discussion at our plenum today.

Estonian Aktiv Debates Accountability Law
PM1205134189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 May 89 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS dispatch: "On the Basis of Economic Accountability"]

[Text] Tallinn, 11 May—The republic can only spend what it earns. Without economic accountability, self-financing, and self-capitalization, the Estonian economy will not be able to overcome the crisis situation. This is the conclusion reached by the participants in the republic party-economic aktiv meeting, held today, to discuss the summary outline plan for economic accountability in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and the draft law on the basic guidelines for introducing economic accountability in the republic. These documents will be discussed at the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session 18 May.

The outline plan, whose nationwide discussion is drawing to a close in the republic, is based on the principles of economic accountability, which will pervade all components from enterprise to republic level, on diversity and equality of forms of ownership, on the independence of budgets at all levels, and on the creation of the best possible conditions for the development of enterprise and initiative. However, not everyone shares this opinion. The leaders of a number of major enterprises under union jurisdiction have misgivings about the switch of the republic to economic accountability, which is scheduled to begin as of 1 January 1990. They fear that economic ties which exist within all-union sectors will be disrupted and that obstacles will arise in implementing an integrated scientific and technical policy. There are also people in the republic who regard the idea of republic economic accountability as a departure from socialism and a manifestation of separatist aspirations. Replying to them, I.Kh. Toome, chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, emphasized that the program for introducing republic economic accountability is a program for creating a strong economy in the

union republic, without which there can be no strong economy in the country as a whole, and that the outline plan does not envisage the replacement of bureaucrats but does envisage the replacement of bureaucratic methods of leadership by economic management levers.

The meeting approved on the whole the summary outline plan for economic accountability in the Estonian SSR and other documents to be submitted for discussion by the republic Supreme Soviet session, and outlined specific tasks which must be implemented as a priority in order to ensure the switch to the principles of economic accountability.

Moscow Newsmen Briefed on Estonian Developments
PM1705073989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 May 89 Morning Edition p 2

[M. Kushtapin report: "Estonia: Firsthand Information"]

[Text] A news conference for Soviet correspondents and foreign correspondents accredited in Moscow was held in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Permanent Mission 12 May. Journalists were addressed, and numerous questions were answered, by M. Titma, ideology secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; R. Otsason, deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee [Gosplan]; and Ye. Golikov, deputy chief of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department.

Describing the current political life in the republic, M. Titma noted that the latest elections for USSR people's deputies substantially eased the tension caused by the actions of different social movements. People were able to express their will 26 March, and they perceived the real democratic opportunities made available to them by the Law on Elections. The election results proved the voters' overwhelming support for the top figures in the party, soviet, and economic leadership even though alternate candidates stood against them all. Over 90 percent of USSR people's deputies are Communists—considerably more than before, when the percentage of party deputies was regulated by quotas notified from above. The following detail is also interesting: As a rule, people with party tickets are also to be found among the representatives of social movements (there were 10 members of the People's Front, 1 member of the International Front, and 4 members of various collectives elected as USSR people's deputies). The attempts by extremists to play on national feelings during the election campaign failed. When casting their votes, the main bulk of voters were guided not by the candidate's nationality but by his civic stance.

The recently held 14th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, having analyzed the election results, mapped out for the republic organization a whole series of the most important avenues in political work to

ensure that, under the conditions of the already existing competition with social movements, it does not let slip the initiative on all the key problems of the republic's life. Communists decided that now it is more important than ever before for the republic's party staff to have a clear-cut program for specific actions over the next few years, since its prestige in the people's eyes will be consolidated by specific deeds and the implementation of proclaimed goals and tasks. The plenum also discussed the way party organizations could influence the local elections. It was deemed expedient to initially stabilize social ties and political life through the rural, rayon, and city structures of power, so as to hold local elections already in November. They are to be followed by republic elections, in which the possibility of direct election to the Supreme Soviet cannot be ruled out.

Gosplan Chairman R. Otsason briefed jourr. alists on the Estonian SSR's concept of economic accountability, which will be submitted for discussion by the republic's Supreme Soviet 18 May. Preparatory work on this question has been going on for a long time and is in itself a result of restructuring, R. Otsason said. What will economic accountability give us? Primarily economic sovereignty and economic responsibility for the future of Estonia's economy. It is, furthermore, a totally new concept of local self-management. To a certain extent it also maps out a radical way for the development of the country's entire economic mechanism. If the Supreme Soviet adopts the Law on Economic Accountability, Estonia will switch to it as of 1 January 1990.

The frank conversation between Estonia's leaders and journalists in the Permanent Mission lasted almost 2 hours. We all need such firsthand information on all questions of the republic's life so as to know the true state of affairs.

Lithuanian Party, 'Sajudis' Representatives Meet
PM1605074789 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA
in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 1

[ELTA report: "Topical Questions Discussed"]

[Text] Vilnius, 28 Apr—A meeting was held at the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee today between members of the Central Committee Bureau and members of the Sejm Council of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring. The opening speech was delivered by Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

The meeting discussed the results of the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum and other topical questions of political life and talked about the agenda of the forthcoming session of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet, the status of the Lithuanian Communist Party, the republic's economic autonomy, and the return home of the remains of those who died in exile.

There was an exchange of opinions on the forthcoming elections to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and local soviets, the republic's draft Constitution, proposed amendments to the Constitution, and also the party's current activity and its relations with public movements.

Socialist Restructuring Group Formed in Lithuania
*LD1505203689 Moscow TASS in English 1950 GMT
15 May 89*

[Text] Vilnius May 15 TASS—Venibe-Yedinstvo-Ednost—the Lithuanian, Russian, and Polish for "unity," such is the title of a new public association formed in Lithuania—the Socialist Movement for Perestroyka in Lithuania. The constituent congress of the movement which rallies on the ideas of internationalism a considerable part of representatives of different nationalities in Lithuania worked here for two days. Almost 900 delegates represented 160 primary organisations, uniting over 200,000 participants in the movement, most of whom are workers.

The political situation in the republic, questions of interethnic relations, language problems were discussed. One should adhere to the platform of perestroyka started by the Communist Party and confirmed by the decisions of the 27th congress of the Soviet Communist Party and the 19th all-union party conference. This thought key-noted speeches which called for abandoning confrontation with Sajudis and finding contacts for joint actions.

The congress adopted the movement's regulations and programme, as well as other documents.

Red Army 'Occupation' of Lithuania Debated
*PM1605103589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 13 May 89 First Edition pp 3-4*

[Report by special correspondent Aleksey Khorev: "Face to Face With a Half-Truth"]

[Text] Vilnius-Moscow—1. On the third Sunday of April what is now called an authorized meeting on the subject of "the constitution and democracy" organized by representatives of informal movements took place in Nagornyy Park in the Lithuanian capital, Vilnius. The meeting discussed the draft of the republic's new constitution and problems of the democratization of society and economic and spiritual life. But the main impression made on me was from a talk about the 9 April events in Tbilisi.

Actually, the meeting began with this: The chairman suggested honoring with a minutes' silence the memory of those who died there. Then the floor was given to a Georgian speaker who, it was announced, had only just arrived from Tbilisi. He began his speech by apologizing for not knowing Lithuanian and therefore being obliged to express himself in Russian. Then he spoke emotionally of the "atrocities perpetrated by the drunken soldier rabble," of the victims, whose numbers had been greatly

understated by the press, of the magical words of the church hierarchy which had stopped the heavy rain in the twinkling of an eye... The speaker ended his speech with the following words: "We have a common enemy—the socialist Russian empire."

After that those who had gathered for the meeting spent a long time chanting the word "Georgia" together. And after the meeting I was returning to my hotel and I could not immediately get rid of the humming in my ears or find my way in the chaos of feelings and thoughts which overwhelmed me. "We have a common enemy..."

Is this the hapless Russia which embarked later than many countries on the path of capitalist development but which raised earlier than others the banner of the struggle for social justice, for liberation from all forms of oppression, including national oppression? Is this the Russia with its long-suffering people whose immense patience has been recognized and valued by the whole world? Is this the Russia which is always ready to share its last morsel and give its last shirt like a brother, always the first among equals to put its shoulder to the heaviest burden and to present its breast to the first bullet? Is this the Russia which has become used to giving free of charge and to taking only loans? Is this the Russia which has suddenly become the enemy of Georgia and, it emerges, not only of Georgia, if that provocative cry emitted at the Vilnius meeting met with no fitting rebuff from anyone?!

This monstrous lie has temporarily eclipsed the other, relatively specific, untruths about the "soldier rabble" and the understated casualties. All this seemed to me as irresponsible an improvisation as the myth of the magical power of the words of the priest who stopped the down-pour. Just as never once in my life have I seen a person who can control the elements, so in my long years of service in the Soviet Army I have never heard of it being taught to break up demonstrations, because it has indeed never been taught to do so. And it has never been intended for this purpose. And what happened in Tbilisi seemed and continues to seem to me improbable, something which did not happen, did not take place. But it is not for nothing that philosophers say that something which has happened cannot be turned into something which has not happened. We should not be surprised that what happened is being greatly exaggerated by some and sometimes passed over in silence by others. This has always been the case with heated events. But false rumors do not live long, however maliciously people may puff them up. But the truth, the impartial truth—indifferent to people's national, class, and other differences and interests—blazes a trail whatever obstacles may be put in its way and to whatever end this is done.

2. One of the most heatedly and passionately discussed questions in Lithuania today is the question of the 1939-1940 events, of the history of the entry of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia into the USSR.

The official version of these events is well known. In mid-1940 Soviet power was proclaimed in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia and declarations were adopted requesting their inclusion in the USSR. These requests were satisfied.

The unofficial version of those events, which is nonetheless now quite widespread in the Baltic republics, is even terser and more unambiguous: occupation.

Many people in Lithuania now determine their attitude toward you by which of these versions you share.

"But surely you must believe it was occupation?" I was asked by a former fellow serviceman, a Lithuanian by nationality, now a retired colonel living in Vilnius and with an entirely friendly attitude toward everything Russian and Soviet.

I replied that I had no reason to change my opinion.

"I have no new information on this issue. And it is to be supposed that we both received the old information from the same sources in school, in college, in the academy..."

"Well, brother," my comrade laughed, "that information is completely out of date, it was incomplete and inaccurate. This year our press published items which make you look at events in a different way. If you like I can give you something to read on the subject?"

Of course, I wanted something and he brought me a whole pile of recent local newspapers. Having familiarized myself with them, I must admit that some items, if they are not forgeries, do amplify and clarify something in our ideas about this problem. But as a whole they hardly alter my viewpoint. I shall cite as an example two of these items, both from the bulletin "Consensus" ["Soglasie"] published by the Lithuanian movement for restructuring. Here is what diplomat Yuzas Urbshis, who was the Lithuanian republic's foreign minister in 1938-1940, says here:

"...On 3 October 1939 the Lithuanian foreign minister flew via Riga to Moscow... Talks began between the two equal sovereign states. Stalin started to speak and said without beating around the bush that the Soviet Union had reached an agreement with Germany (with Hitlerite, Fascist Germany!) and the larger part of Lithuania was going to the Soviet Union and a narrow border strip to Germany. He laid out a map of Lithuania on the table and showed the line marked on it dividing the 'domains' of the Soviet Union and Germany on the territory of the independent Lithuanian state... I tried to protest... I said that the friendly Soviet Union was the last country from which Lithuania could have expected such a step... Molotov joined in the conversation:

"Any imperialist state would occupy Lithuania and that would be that. We are not doing that. We would not be Bolsheviks if we did not seek new paths..."

"Stalin was more specific:

"We must sign two treaties with you—one on the return of Vilnius to Lithuania, the other on mutual aid."

"...The draft of the latter treaty granted the Soviet Union the right to introduce its troops onto Lithuanian territory and to keep them there permanently... On familiarizing myself with this plan I could not help commenting:

"But that's the occupation of Lithuania!"

"Stalin and Molotov smiled..."

Next to this extract from the memoirs of the Lithuanian diplomat under the heading "On the Secret Protocols of 1939" is published a translation of a letter from Bonn to the editorial office of the newspaper TIESA:

"I eagerly fulfill your request to send copies of the secret executive protocols of the 23 August 1939 German-Soviet nonaggression pact. Allow me to inform you of a few points of the history of this document: The original, which belonged to Germany, was destroyed during World War II. But before that together with other acts it was put on microfilm. This film exists to this day. The authenticity of other documents on the same film can be proved. The originals of the documents at the German Embassy in Moscow describing the course of the talks mention the existence of secret additional protocols. The FRG Foreign Ministry knows nothing about the storage of the document belonging to the Soviet side. With friendly greetings,

Doctor Eberhard Heiken, chief of the USSR department, Bonn, 29 November 1988."

Further down on the same page of the bulletin "Consensus" is published a photocopy of the 23 August 1939 secret additional protocol signed by Molotov and Ribbentrop. It mentions the delimitation of the spheres of mutual interests of Germany and the USSR in East Europe and in particular how in the event of the territorial and political reorganization of the provinces belonging to the Baltic states, Lithuania's northern border is at the same time the border of the spheres of interest of Germany and the USSR.

There are people who deem this document to be genuine. But many people consider it a forgery. Here the degree of conclusiveness on either side leaves much to be desired, as they say, and is reminiscent of the eternal dialogue between atheists and believers, when the former assert without evidence that there is no god and the latter that there is a god.

But the question of god is a philosophical one. People can and have been arguing about it for centuries. But the question of Lithuania's occupation by the Red Army, through the efforts of certain forces (these forces call

themselves restructuring forces, with which many people here disagree) has today become a keenly political, burning, interethnic question.

3. It is offensive and annoying for our servicemen serving in the Baltic republics to read and hear this word of shocking injustice: occupier. And those who belong to the indigenous local nationalities are sometimes even more annoyed by that slogan. Here is a young picketter standing in front of the barracks of one military unit with a brightly painted placard appealing preemptorily to the "occupiers." He stands there for an hour, 2 hours, 3 hours... The first time Colonel V. Kulpinskas, a Lithuanian by nationality, passed by the young man without stopping. But on the way back he approached him and said in Lithuanian:

"Hey, you, boy... If the Soviet troops were occupiers you wouldn't be standing there for long with your placard."

"Why not," the other asked, not understanding.

"Because occupiers don't stand on ceremony with 'rebels' like you. You would have been taken off and flogged long ago. I lived through the Hitlerite occupation, I know what it's like..."

And Kulpinskas continued on his way. The boy remained standing on the spot someone had designated for him. But his thoughts could hardly have remained motionless. If he was intelligent and curious he could not help thinking about what those scathing words mean, about what stands behind them in history and about whether it is correctly applied to the present daily life of his native republic. After all he had probably heard from people who lived through Hitler's offensive what a cruel and bloody regime the occupation regime was.

Of course everyone has heard of it. But not everyone has really thought about it. And some people have completely forgotten, tuning in to the noisy wavelength of some of the present informal organization members who ply the crude trade of replacing a comprehensive approach toward phenomena with a one-sided approach and doing everything to overemphasize and stress what might once have divided us and keeping quiet about what unites us today.

Yes, there was a time when under the conditions of the cult of Stalin, Beria's henchmen arrested, convicted, and deported tens of thousands of Lithuanians. Grossly violating Lenin's principles, using economic pressure on peasants, collectivization was carried out here and distortions were committed in other fields of the republic's social life, in particular in cadres policy. One retired Lithuanian officer told me bitterly how he once failed to gain a promotion on the sole grounds that there was already one Lithuanian in the organization to which he wished to be appointed. It seemed that two Lithuanians could not work there...

Lithuanians rightly remember all this. It was in those bitter years that this thesis of the "Soviet occupiers" provoked by the Stalinists and developed through the people's suffering was probably born and ripened somewhere underground. But scarcely anyone ventured to come out onto the streets with it. And if someone had ventured to do so he would probably have paid the price... But today, today, in the era of the intensive democratization of all social and state life, it is hardly wise or farsighted to gloat over and exploit the occupation thesis. What complaints can be made against the Russian people for the past if they themselves suffered under Stalinism no less than any other people of the country? "It seems that way to you as a Russian," I was told by my former fellow serviceman, whom I have already mentioned. "But we take all this harder and it makes us bleed more heavily. We answer such arguments like this: Your Stalin tyrannized you, but for us he was an alien, a stranger, an occupier."

These are the complex specific features of the national perception. And they must obviously be taken into account in organizing and performing ideological and counterpropaganda work.

During my stay in Vilnius I formed the impression that both the local party organizations and the military units' political organs try to consider the population's national features. The military units' political organs in particular have begun actively to enlist officers and generals of Lithuanian nationality to direct dialogue with the masses. For instance, republican television has transmitted two direct broadcasts (they are called "teleforums" here) in which Rear Admiral P. Kashauskas, Major Generals S. Nekroshus, A. Naudzhyunas, and V. Medzhus, Lieutenant General O. Pikauskas, Colonels G. Radzhyunas and S. Ulyavichus, and Lieutenant Colonel A. Stulginskas answered television viewers' questions on problems of Lithuanians' military service. Colonels O. Visotskis and I. Gliznutsa and Lieutenant Colonel V. Lukoshchus often address young people.

There is a convincing look to some items in the republican newspaper SOVETSKAYA LITVA on military history themes. It is precisely this convincing approach which draws the attention in, for instance, the article by Candidate of Historical Sciences Lieutenant General O. Zinchenko entitled "History Is Not Written in Tar" published under the "My Opinion" rubric—a popular one here.

Speaking of Lithuania's "occupation" by the Red Army and touching in particular on the memoirs of former Lithuanian Foreign Minister Yu. Urbshis, the author notes that even disregarding the tendentious coloring and subjectivism of these memoirs one thing is obvious: The introduction of Soviet troops was not an act of aggression or occupation. It was preceded by long talks during which every word and every figure of the treaty was discussed, weighed, and debated. And what kind of an occupation is it if the routes for the troops' movement are agreed on

before hand and the armed forces of the "captured" state not only do not offer resistance but on the contrary enter into cooperation and do everything to help?

From the military viewpoint, the article continues, it is very hard to provide evidence of the "occupation" of the Baltic republics in 1940: There was not a single armed clash, not a single shot. Although each of the three states had what was quite a good army for that time. Even earlier, in the fall of 1939, the Red Army had already entered into contacts with the Lithuanian bourgeois army when the Soviet Union handed over the Vilnius region to Lithuania. Even then the best of relations took shape between the military.

Of course it is possible to discuss Stalin's strategic blunders on the eve of the war and it is, finally, possible to cast doubt on the need for particular decisions taken at the time and to debate other alternative steps instead of the nonaggression pact with Germany, but it is impossible to reject or even shake the truth about how the Red Army entered the Baltic republics not as an occupier but as an ally, as a counterweight to the threat of aggression which loomed from the West.

Fortunately, such publications are few and far between in the Lithuanian press, especially in the Lithuanian language.

4. Of course, it would be naive to believe that a few convincing counterpropaganda items or even a big, successful ideological campaign are enough to restore harmony in Lithuania's social life. Peace and quiet were characteristic of the times of Stalin and Brezhnev. But in reality even then there was no peace or quiet. The well-known processes of "fermentation" were under way even then, only they were either "neutralized" without resorting to glasnost or people pretended not to see them.

Restructuring did not begin them, did not cause them, but merely revealed them. And what arises for some reason is not eliminated without effort. The more important the reasons, the more vigorous the efforts. Particularly when there are forces interested in fueling negative processes. Today these forces are making themselves felt importunately now here, now there. Look closely at what they are building their propaganda on and you will see: half-truths. They know that it is a hundred times more difficult to combat it than to combat ordinary lies. Half-truths may be said to be the supreme variety of lies.

Were there casualties during the 9 April events in Tbilisi? There were. The real, published, figure is taken and multiplied by some coefficient taken out of thin air. Just try counting again! The figure obtained by multiplication is already exciting people's minds.

Or another instance. Soviet troops entered Lithuania in 1940? They did. It is possible to keep quiet about how they entered without a single shot and about how the population welcomed them with applause and songs

about the Red Army. But that this was preceded by some diplomatic act which has not been preserved in the archives is shouted from the rooftops.

It must be said that the calculation is not that new or subtle, but it seems to have taken some of our propaganda workers by surprise. They have lost their heads. They have fallen silent. They have hidden away. They have kept mum...

The following incident occurred. A veteran, highly articulate (including in Lithuanian) and of radical inclinations in the spirit of internationalism, visited me in my hotel room. We were sitting and talking about the tactics of the Vilnius informal organizations. And suddenly another visitor arrived, whom I had not agreed to meet. The man who had arrived earlier immediately drooped, as it were, wilted, grew weak, and started to say goodbye. When we met later, he told me in secret that the other man was a nationalist, that I was wrong to have dealings with him, and expressed regret that that nationalist had seen him, an internationalist, with me, who had come from Moscow and was thus in some people's eyes Moscow's "agent." Supposing something comes of it, he said.

No, I am not inclined to oversimplify the situation. It is said, and confirmed by facts, that blackmail, intimidation, persecution, and psychological pressure are not ruled out in such cases. For instance, people can telephone you at home and deliver threats of reprisals. The quite frequently encountered argument "We have to live here" is by no means frivolous or vain. Nonetheless, it is a pity that contacts between war veterans and young people and their mutual understanding are growing weaker and meetings with schoolchildren for instance have been reduced to nothing.

If it is right to say that truth is born in debate then the further you are from debate the further you are from truth. In former times our rank and file Red Army servicemen were often taken for political section leaders in different clothing because of their political proficiency and activeness. Yet here some officers do not give that impression. Incidentally, this fact in a certain sense also characterizes those from whom people fear persecution. After all, as a rule they all verbally fight for unlimited democracy but in fact it turns out that they shut their opponents' mouths.

One of our readers, an officer from Kaunas, sent a letter to the editorial office suggesting that it stop publishing items denouncing Stalinism and Brezhnevism inasmuch as, in his opinion, this undermines the faith of people in the Baltic republics in everything Russian and Soviet. His train of thought was: Let's stop writing about the errors and crimes of the past and interethnic relations will go right. What can be said on the subject? It is like turning the question upside down.

After all, keeping quiet is in no way better than a half-truth. It is no better primarily in the moral sense. And in addition in the sense of effectiveness in ideological debates. More than anything else, it was keeping quiet which was in abundant supply in our past, both remote and not very remote. And as a result there were also losses, both overt and concealed. So surely we do not need to return to something on which we have already burned ourselves more than enough?

The locomotive of history has no reverse gear, either in great or small matters. And that is a good thing.

Lithuanian Higher Education Conference Opens 26 Apr
18001016b Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA
in Russian 27 Apr 89 p 3

[ELTA report]

[Text] Kaunas, 26 April (ELTA)—A scholarly conference opened today in the House of Political Education. It is called "The Concept of the National Higher School and Kaunas University." On invitation from the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Academy of Sciences, the Aukuras club, the Lithuanian culture fund, and the Lithuanian Sajudis movement for restructuring, its participants include several hundred specialists of VUZ's [higher educational institutions] and scientific research institutions of Lithuania and other Union republics, and also foreign Lithuanians—scholars from the United States, Canada, Sweden, and the FRG. The conference was opened by former instructors from Kaunas University imeni Vitautas Velikiy, veterans of science, Professors Adolfas Damushis from Washington and Yurgis Vidmantas from Kaunas.

At the plenary meeting they considered the prospects for training highly qualified specialists for Lithuania and discussed the question of what Kaunas University should be. There was extensive discussion of the priority areas of republic scholarship and questions of the autonomy of the higher school.

The conference will last 3 days.

More on Baltic Assembly on Republic Sovereignty
LD1705083989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 May 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by own correspondents I. Livinova and L. Levitskiy: "Baltic Assembly"]

[Text] The Baltic public movements—the Estonian and Latvian People's Fronts and Lithuania's "Sajudis"—held a Baltic assembly in Tallinn 13-14 May, at which there was a discussion of a common platform on the problems of the republics' economic and political sovereignty. The movements' USSR people's deputies were also invited to the assembly.

The speakers were united in their assessment of the economic situation in the country and in the republics and about ways of overcoming the difficulties. Only a radical change in economic relations will get the economy out of the impasse. It was from this standpoint that they analyzed and criticized the draft "General Principles of Restructuring the Leadership of the Economy and Social Sphere in the Union Republics on the Basis of the Expansion of Their Sovereign Rights, Self-Management, and Self-Financing." In the view of the assembly delegates the economic mechanism set out in the draft does not bear out the hopes pinned on it because it does not solve the problem of the union republics' independence. A declaration "On the Economic Independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania" says that the concept of regional economic accountability proposed by Baltic specialists ensures more effective relations between the republics and the center.

The actual meeting of public movements in the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee House of Political Enlightenment, the open nature of the discussion, and the decisions adopted in the form of demands to republic and national government organs are a sign of the times. The democratization processes are paving the way for the establishment of true sovereign union republics. The assembly also adopted an appeal to the country's democratic movements and a telegram to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and CPSU Central Committee Politburo demanding an intensification of the struggle against anti-restructuring forces. A number of documents reflecting the problems of the present-day state of our society were approved, and an assessment of some recent legislative acts was made.

The assembly's work ended with the adoption of a treaty defining the aims of cooperation among the Estonian and Latvian People's Fronts and Lithuania's "Sajudis."

Self-Determination Resolution Adopted
LD1605143289 Vilnius in English to North America
2200 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] The Baltic assembly, a 2-day meeting of the central bodies of the popular fronts of the Baltic states, ended in Tallinn on Sunday night. If, so far, the popular movements—the Lithuanian Sajudis, and Latvian and Estonian Popular Fronts—have worked separately, this meeting brought them all together for the first time in order to coordinate (?their efforts). So perhaps that is the most important aspect of the assembly's work.

Simultaneously (?with) the assembly there was held a meeting of the deputies from the Baltic countries elected to the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow which will come together in a couple of weeks. A great part of the candidates, supported by the popular fronts of the Baltic countries, won the elections and became deputies. In all, the three countries the leading figures of the

popular fronts (?got) a mandate to the legislature in Moscow. So some 60 deputies from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania discussed ways of cooperation in Tallinn.

Maryu Lauristin, one of the leaders of the Estonian popular front and a deputy of the People's Congress in Moscow said in a [word indistinct] on the deputies' meeting at the Baltic assembly that the main aim was to prevent the newly elected Congress of People's Deputies to become just a voting body. It should become a real political power in the country.

The chairman of the meeting of the deputies, [name indistinct], added that the rights of the Soviet republics must be regained, so the work of the new legislature of the Soviet Union should be organized in a way that the demands of the union republics could not be voted down by the majority. Hence he proposed that resolutions be adopted on the basis of consensus. It was decided that the Baltic deputies would continue cooperation.

The main questions discussed at the Baltic assembly today were connected (?with) the democratic movements in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and then a number of resolutions were adopted by the assembly. These included a declaration of rights of the Baltic nations. It was stated that the Baltic countries should be given the right of self-determination. Another declaration demanding the Baltic states to be given a right to economic sovereignty was adopted.

The (?recognition of Stalin's crimes) demanded that the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union would recognize Stalin's crimes of genocide against the Baltic nations and the crime against humanity.

The assembly also demanded that the relations of the Soviet Army and the civilian population (?be revised) and the army be subjected to (?civil) authority.

The draft amendments to the penal code of the Soviet Government and the decree concerning the use of special units against unauthorized demonstrations found condemnation by the assembly. It was also demanded that the whole Baltic zone be declared nuclear-free and free of chemical weapons. Besides, the troops in the Baltic region should be (?curbed), it was declared that the army units located there should be made up of local inhabitants.

An appeal was launched to the members of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and to the United Nations secretary general concerning the declaration of the 1939 German-Soviet deal invalid.

The Baltic countries have a similar fate, we have better chances to succeed in democratization of our society (?when) joining our efforts, it was stated at the press conferences at the end of the assembly. We have got a long and difficult way to go, but we are moving along the

way in a calm and (?parliamentary) way, the [word indistinct] deputy of the Congress of People's Deputies and member of the board of (?trustees) of the Estonian Popular Front said.

Nagorno-Karabakh Strike Situation Updated 15 May

Volkskiy Remarks Criticized

NC1705085789 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Stepanakert, 16 May (ARMENPRES)—Sunday, 14 May passed in relative calm in Stepanakert. During the mass strike days the square in front of the party city committee building has begun to assume a special role. The residents of the capital of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] gather here every day in small groups to exchange views about the present tense situation and to obtain information. The latest interview given by A.I. Volkskiy, chairman of the NKAO Special Administration Committee, to the correspondent of the local television station was accorded a particularly negative assessment by the population.

The rhythm of labor activity did not return to Stepanakert on 15 May. As was the case before, only basic consumer enterprises, health and communications services, and food stores are operating in the city. The situation in the schools is being tackled differently. Measures are being taken to fully resume holding classes. However, only graduate students and some of the primary school pupils are attending schools.

Industrial enterprises, building societies, the transportation system, cultural and educational institutions, the public catering services, and foodstuff centers, including the cooperative coffee-shops, are not working. People are waiting for concrete measures to be taken in line with the demands they put forward. There is a perception of tension which is the result of the current situation.

In general the situation has not changed in the oblast rayons. The work is continuing in the agricultural sector.

During the last two days, the number of detainees held for violating identification requirements and curfew hours is not more than the usual number.

Outlying Rayons Also Affected

NC1705100389 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] As we already reported, the labor rhythm in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] has been disrupted not only in Stepanakert but also in the NKAO rayons. On 15 May in the Mardagertskiy Rayon, the industrial collectives at the rayon center and at Bunk village, the NKAO branch of the silk combine, the (?vine-pressing) factory, and the collectives in a number of other enterprises were not working.

The workers in the public catering services, the transportation system, rural construction, public services, and in other domains were on strike in the Marduninskiy Rayon. The construction workers in the Askeran Rayon were not working. In a number of schools some classes were held.

Despite this, agricultural work did not come to a standstill in the three rayons mentioned. Everywhere the public catering services were operating [word indistinct]. On 15 May, Volskiy, chairman of the NKAO Special Administration Committee, met with representatives of the oblast's [word indistinct] soviet. They discussed ways to emerge from the perilous situation [word indistinct]; proposals were made. On 16 May [words indistinct] classes for students in the 8th and 13th grades in school were fully resumed in Stepanakert. The situation is relatively calm in the city.

Basic Enterprises Operating

NC1705104189 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
0425 GMT 17 May 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] As has already been reported, the rhythm of work has been disrupted not only in Stepanakert, but also in the rayons of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. On 15 May, Volskiy, chairman of the NKAO Special Administration Committee, held a meeting with the representatives of the (?women's) soviet. The latter put forward their own proposals for ending the perilous situation.

Yesterday, the people again abstained from work in the oblast. The 3rd and 10th graders in the Stepanakert schools have fully resumed classes. Basic enterprises are operating everywhere. [words indistinct] A relative (?calm) prevails in the city. A dispatch of the NKAO situation by ARMENPRES reporter (?Achik) Grigoryan was published on the page 4 of the paper.

Politburo Criticizes 'Slipshod' Armenia Construction

PM1505163189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under the rubric "In the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission": "To Accelerate the Revival"]

[Text] All the rubble has not yet been cleared. Lights do not burn in the evening in many houses condemned to be demolished. There are still difficulties with food and interruptions in the water supply, but life is picking up. The cities and settlements of northern Armenia hit by the elements no longer leave a distressing impression of ruin and devastation. In the morning the streets come to life, the bus stops start to fill with people, and stores open their doors and enterprises their gates, with kiosk traders hurriedly handing out newspapers nearby. This is no longer a disaster zone but a zone of persistent labor and

internationalism in action, and in it people are leading a common life with the entire Soviet people. The most important thing in the wide range of this region's specific problems is the revival of devastated cities and villages and the restoration of normal living conditions for people who have been through a great tragedy.

On 12 May the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission, headed by N.I. Ryzhkov, joined with the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium in examining the question of the progress of reconstruction work in the regions of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] hit by the earthquake and the fulfillment of the decisions adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers to eliminate its aftermath.

A report by the state commission on checking the quality of the planning and construction of mass-series apartment blocks in northern regions of the Armenian SSR and the reasons for their destruction was also discussed.

It was pointed out at the session that more than 40,000 emissaries from fraternal republics are working in northern Armenia today, and specialists in various sectors of the national economy and Soviet Army servicemen are working there. With their participation and active assistance Armenian SSR party, soviet, and economic organs have developed work on the reconstruction and construction of apartment blocks, schools, kindergartens, and other projects in the social and production spheres. Vital systems—power and gas supplies and water mains—are operating in cities and other population centers. Measures are being taken to develop construction industry enterprises, their capacities are decisive in determining the pace of the revival. The railroad tracks have been extended significantly. Spring field work is being carried out in an organized manner.

The active involvement and compassion with which the entire world community responded to the tragic aftermath of the earthquake in Armenia will never be forgotten. Aid from abroad is continuing to arrive even now. The fraternal socialist countries are doing a great deal in this respect. Talks are also being conducted on specific aid projects, and agreements have already been concluded with representatives of charitable and other organizations in Austria, the FRG, the United States, Finland, Britain, India, Sweden, France, and a number of other countries. An Italian village, as it is called, of 200 small comfortable houses has been prepared for handover in Spitak. Foundations are being prepared for a gift from the Norwegian people—a hospital which, packed up in 110 containers, is itself ready to be shipped out.

Understandably, however, our own construction organizations bear the main load. During January-April 1989 they carried out construction and installation work on social projects in cities and settlements to the tune of R173 million—more than one-fifth of the annual target. Work was carried out in the countryside to the tune of

R85 million which corresponds to the 4-month target and 26,000 square meters of housing, temporary schools with 3,400 places, and kindergartens with 1,800 places were constructed.

At present 115 out of 170 industrial enterprises damaged during the earthquake are functioning in full or in part.

At the same time, it was pointed out at the session, the activities of party committees and soviet and economic organs take insufficient account of the special features of the present stage of work. A regular increase in the pace of construction is being held up by poor executive discipline, formalism, and irresponsibility. Decisions made by the republic leadership frequently get bogged down right at the start of their practical implementation. Inhabitants of the regions which suffered are frequently late in receiving the prescribed compensation for their loss of property and experience difficulty in finding work. Considerable delays hamper the allocation of plots for individual construction, the acquisition of construction materials, and the hiring of equipment. The network of trade and services sphere enterprises is only being developed slowly. All this gives rise to just complaints from the population.

Although the order of relations has been defined for everyone involved in construction, work schedules have been approved, and coordinating groups of the USSR State Committee for Construction [Gosstroy] and a new subdepartment in the Armenian SSR Gosstroy have been set up to resolve interdepartmental questions, it is precisely the coordination of actions that is most lacking now. Engineering and geological surveying has not been carried out on schedule, and the allocation of construction plots and the drafting of plans are being held up, with the result that many organizations have embarked on work on the sites reserved for them with a considerable delay.

The causes of failures are also connected with the unsatisfactory organization of material and technical supplies and the acute shortage of building structures and materials, particularly local ones. It is necessary to sharply accelerate the retooling and expansion of quarrying and its transfer to work organization on lease principles. Transport remains a bottleneck, and cars are taking too long to unload.

On the whole, the pace of work, particularly on construction sites planned for commissioning in the first half-year, cannot be considered satisfactory. The most serious delays have occurred in the construction of heating, water, and drainage facilities for apartment blocks, schools, kindergartens, and other sociocultural projects. Because of considerable delays in issuing technical documentation, construction workers on the majority of sites cannot begin constructing engineering services: water pipes, drainage, power supplies.

While paying tribute to the construction workers' efforts, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission and the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium view the state of affairs as alarming and necessitating radical measures to rectify it. The chief sociopolitical task at the present stage of reconstruction work is to ensure the maximum provision of housing for homeless families before the onset of cold weather, to guarantee that schoolchildren can begin the new academic year under normal conditions, and to commission vital services for cities and villages.

For this there must be a qualitative breakthrough as early as May-June, a reliable construction base must be created, and capacities must be developed for the production of local construction materials in sufficient volumes to fully meet the needs. The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Gosstroy, USSR ministries and departments, and union republic councils of ministers must act more purposefully and vigorously, start up the construction conveyor belt as quickly as possible, and ensure the restoration of the production potential in the earthquake zone. It is necessary to sharply increase attention to the quality of construction materials, structures, and installation work. Slipshod work and omissions are not just inadmissible—under today's conditions, they are criminal. This was emphasized with special force at the commission session.

All possible support must be given to enterprising work and the search for bold, nonstandard solutions being conducted by certain specialists of union republic subdepartments. The matter is being accelerated considerably by close ties between construction workers and planners—which makes it possible to carry out work in parallel. The competition among labor collectives, whose pioneers in Armenia have taken it on themselves to manufacture 22,000 small wooden houses for the regions that suffered, must gather momentum more quickly.

The session leveled serious criticism at Russian Federation construction organizations, whose working harmony has declined appreciably recently as they have floundered in arguments over secondary issues when, in view of the republic's great potential, they have been entrusted with reconstructing Leninakan—Armenia's second-largest city. There has been a substantial slackening of the work pace among Uzbek and Estonian construction workers in the city of Spitak, accounted for to a considerable degree by a relaxation of control over their activities on the part of these republics' Councils of Ministers. Serious complaints were also leveled at the work of construction organizations of the agro-industrial complex in the republic's rural regions.

All union republic councils of ministers, ministries, and departments are instructed to draw appropriate conclusions from the shortcomings noted at the commission session, not allow complacency, and concentrate maximum effort on fulfilling the set targets during the summer months, remembering that a huge amount of work

lies ahead to implement the fundamental CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decisions on reviving the regions which suffered.

The session examined thoroughly the conclusion of the state commission on checking the quality of the planning and construction of mass-series apartment blocks which failed to withstand underground shocks in northern regions of the Armenian SSR. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission and the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium agreed with the conclusion that the catastrophic consequences of the Spitak earthquake were caused not only by its high intensity but also by the extremely poor quality of construction and installation work and most flagrant deviations from planning norms.

Expert appraisals were made of 37 plans for residential and public buildings, with at least 3 institutes examining each plan independently of each other. The state commission recognized that the Armenian SSR Gosstroy had made expert appraisals of the plans in a formal manner, with violations of the prescribed procedure. Permits for the construction of buildings using plans that were clearly unacceptable for this region were issued without regard for the specific local conditions which in many ways predetermined the gravity of the earthquake's consequences.

Checks conducted by teams of specialists revealed numerous deviations from the norms when carrying out engineering and surveying work and the use on construction sites of concrete, mortar, aggregates, and reinforcing and other products which were known to be unsuitable. The resultant "surplus" materials were embezzled. In 10 of the 11 stone buildings checked the floor slabs had not been connected to monolithic antiseismic bands. The strength of cohesion in the wall masonry was 5 times below the normative strength. In half of the bearing-wall framework houses that were checked violations of the installation regulations led to mass collapses of flights of stairs.

The unsubstantiated downward revision of the normative seismicity of the Spitak-Kirovakan-Stepanavan region in 1978 from force 8 to force 7 exacerbated the consequences of the earthquake. The Institute of Geophysics and Engineering Seismology of the republic Academy of Sciences was responsible for dividing up the seismic zoning chart on Armenian territory.

With regard to the materials of studies in other seismically dangerous regions, the appropriate departments have been entrusted with drawing up the all-union "Seismic Stability" scientific and technical program. It is to provide for the resolution of a wide range of tasks from forecasting earthquakes to ensuring the absolutely safe exploitation of residential and civic buildings and production projects. The USSR Gosstroy is entrusted with ensuring a radical improvement in planning in

seismically dangerous zones, stepping up the work of expert organs, and enhancing the efficacy of services which monitor construction quality.

It was also decided to introduce compulsory state acceptance for all construction projects in the disaster zone in Armenia as of 1 June this year.

The tragic consequences of the earthquake must teach a serious lesson and act as a warning to everyone responsible for instilling proper order in earthquake-proof construction in the country.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission and the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium adopted a decision to forward the state commission's materials to the USSR Prosecutor's Office for examination and for instituting criminal proceedings in the manner laid down in law.

Participating in the session were members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission: S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; Yu.P. Batalin and L.A. Voronin, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; and also A.P. Biryukova and N.V. Talyzin, candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; other members of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium, chairmen and deputy chairmen of union republic councils of ministers, and leaders of USSR ministries and departments.

The work results were summarized by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who emphasized the great sociopolitical significance of the unconditional fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Government decisions on eliminating the aftermath of the earthquake in Armenia.

Costs of Transcaucasus Interethnic Strife Decried

18000925 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian

28 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 3

[I. Prelovskaya report: "When the Calm Came It Was Time To Think About What Had Happened"]

[Text] Baku—Moscow—I journeyed to Baku with letters from teachers.

One was filled with agonizing perplexity: people with whom I taught, side by side for 20 years, have turned away, the family is furious, and the supports knocked away—the sense of protection. And all because of something that was given at birth, because of one word in a passport....

Beneath another letter lay a forest of names, four hundred signatures of teachers and educators from the 26 Bakinskikh Komissarov Rayon. They ask with pain: Can

the tragedy of two nations be judged merely from bloody events? Two streams, there and back—more than 300,000 Armenians and Azerbaijanis were uprooted from their places last year. And we can all imagine the fate of the refugees, deprived of their homes and property in a matter of a few hours; and we are capable of seeing in the avalanches of disaster the individual face of a person, and of putting ourselves in his place, and of asking: Both you and I, were we involved, could we have been involved in the grief and violence if we had been here instead of in some other place, in some other circumstances?... Could we have been capable of processing through our sense of morality the fate of the unwitting victims in such a way that we shied away, froze, looked in the other direction, or came to our senses?

At the height of the strife, the slightest hint of attention to these things evoked a painful reaction. We read many reports in the editorial office about the two capitals. But could this kind of line-by-line objectivity be satisfied by a sense of justice?

Time has finally removed the straitjacket from the events in those republics. About 40,000 Armenians have returned to Azerbaijan. True, there is still no return flow into Armenia. For the peasants left the villages en masse; the local authorities could not guarantee their safety. Stores and schools were closed, the lights switched off. It was not flight but a resettlement. But now, thank God, people are returning to their senses. "Dear brothers," it states in the appeal to the Azerbaijani refugees from Gugarkskiy Rayon, one of the rayons where there were victims in the disorders, "the time has come for decisive and noble actions to eliminate all causes of mutual offense and to establish peace and order and strengthen good-neighborly relations...."

So perhaps there is no need to remember yesterday—strike it out, forget it. Some people hold that view. Do we need this heartache?

Nevertheless we are now looking back over the decades at our history and trying it on for size, for the missed opportunities, resurrecting the spirits of the martyrs, known and unknown, all for the sake of understanding the sources of the mistakes and crimes that have been committed, and the sources of the crisis, and perhaps ourselves. And perhaps the main thing is, to use the words of one political commentator, that this "does not make it possible to prevent historical awareness from entering into today's policy." This is why now, when new decisions are being considered for the national question, it will be necessary to look at the still heated yesterday, not only from the heights of the state, but also from the standpoint of ordinary people who have tasted bitterness to the full.

I could not immediately find teacher Zoya Makarovna Danielyan. She had gone from Baku to the Caucasus in search of a home and work. Not finding them, after

wandering around to her relatives she had returned in confusion. And so, meeting her at the appointed hour, I unexpectedly found myself in a guest house where, it turned out, there were both Armenians and Azerbaijanis. The area had produced an alarming impression: bare walls, no blinds at the windows, no dishes in the sideboard. Both as if the neighbors had hidden away all their things out of harm's way, and as if the masters of the house were living out of suitcases.

The elder son of the Danielyans, a gas and electric welder, had gone with his comrades to the Ukraine. Somewhere in Voroshilovgrad Oblast they had taken a loan to build greenhouses at a collective farm [kolkhoz]. Perhaps they would settle there. The mother had left the young 15-year-old teenager in Mineralnyye Vody. He was learning to be a shoemaker there. The Danielyans are natives of Baku; their great-grandparents are buried there. They waited 8 years for this apartment. Is it easy to abandon everything? True, Albert Vladimirovich, an electrical fitter, was not driven out of Kaspiy: "You cannot get young people to do my job." But at the terrible crossroads between November and December, having taken a week's vacation, he had squandered away 3 weeks in the Caucasus. He asked for this to be official vacation time but they refused. He was given a reprimand: "We had lived peaceably so why should I flee? Thirty years without a reproof. I fell from a height of 30 meters; it was a miracle that I lived, but I went back to my trade. Is my family guilty because people were fighting? Whose land do I need? We are all only guests on it anyway...."

They moved away only when Zoya Makarovna was no longer able to go to the school. On the last Saturday in November the teachers stopped speaking to her. And on the Monday, in her words, for the first time in her life she heard insults from the children. The teenagers knocked at the classroom door, took the 2d graders by the hand, led them out into the corridor and started to throw small stones at her. Twice she went upstairs to the principal but he would not help her. The military instructor had to take her to the business stop. She was forced to go to the school once more—to be dismissed a month later.

What was I expecting when I went to that school? To be candid, I was hoping for a human conversation. Perhaps something would have touched people—regret, repentance? The young principal rolled his eyes in amazement and shook his head: "It was nothing at all like that." The director drew my attention to a postscript that Danielyan had added to her statement: there were no claims against the school.

Yes, a fine teacher, they said. And she was absent for 3 weeks, but she was not punished; she was excused.

Later I learned about the schools where they looked after their teachers, when in those alarming days colleagues substituted for them at lessons and took groceries to their homes. How, then, can we talk about reprimands? I

learned later that on that same ill-fated last Monday of November, at another school, students in the senior grades waylaid Seda Armavirovna Shaboyan, also a teacher in the lower grades, with a humiliating placard. It was as if some unseen hand were guiding people. Shaboyan had been warned the day before but she would not be reconciled to this and she went to the lessons, ostentatiously putting on her best dress.

Denying what had happened, Danielyan's former colleagues nevertheless did explain their position, although somewhat obliquely. Sara Ismailova, who had exchanged her home in Masisskiy Rayon in Armenia for an apartment in Baku, came into the director's office. Sara's story was just as bitter as Zoya's. In her hands she held a scrap of silk drape material and a copy of the official document from the procurator's office describing the damage done to her home by thugs. This petite, thin woman said that at one moment she forgot herself and reached for an axe.... Her whole body shook as she remembered.

Danielyan and Ismailova are two modest teachers, not young, family people, diligent. Their fates are as if purposefully designed for comparison. And this is an eye for an eye? A tooth for a tooth?... Who suffered more? Who is the more guilty? Perhaps here we have a proper accounting if a human life is invaluable? Who can weigh the humiliation and tears and quantify the insults?

Arrangements were made for Zoya Makarovna to work with me. It was not a simple matter: she had to move from the Azerbaijani sector to the Russian sector, and instead of the young children she teaches 6th grade. Her seniority has been lost. It is a blessing that a decision has finally been reached removing this injustice for those who found themselves in similar circumstances.

While they left forever, others remained, or returned as soon as calm had been restored. And what buoyed up people's spirits? The Armenian teachers returned to the No 269 school in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon even though a group of the school workers had barred their path to class one November morning, while a large crowd of the parents had gathered in front of the school even before the lessons started, making nationalistic demands. But the director, Alla Igorevna Vezirova, turned out to be a steadfast person, not to be easily scared. She talked with the parents calmly, but without beating about the bush. If there were complaints about any of the teachers she was ready to look into it. But she would act only on a lawful basis. They tried to set a deadline for her. She cut this short; she made no promises to dismiss anyone. In the presence of a representative of the mayor she endured the insulting encounter with one of the teachers that morning. But in her heart she did not endure and she had barely finished before she was taken ill. But while she was sick she maintained communications with the school. She did not sign a single request for resignation by the teachers. Both she and the chief of the

Shaumyanovskiy Rayon education office, Nana Akhmedovna Kalantarova, pleaded with them not to be hasty and suggested that they take time off formally. And when at the school someone suggested that the Armenians be officially certified as absent, Vezirova indignantly refused. The principal, the secretary of the party organization, and the trade union chairman supported her. The school did not lose people, although there were many difficult minutes. Once, going into the office, Vezirova saw on the desk a stone, thrown through the window. Someone pinned up lists; someone else made telephone threats. People behaved in various ways.

We have grown accustomed to thinking about collective concepts: teaching, the student body, the intelligentsia.... To act and make demands "on behalf of, and on instructions from." To transfer the guilt of specific people to a sector, an organization, a nation. Is this not where we get the readiness to look immediately for a collective respondent instead of making an in-depth investigation of social processes? Only now, it seems, are we beginning to look through the eyes of the individuals capable of opposing group egotism, morally steadfast in unforeseen circumstances....

"When I went to Alla Igorevna and told her that I was going away," Nina Arutyunovna Andreasyan, an English-language teacher, recalled, "I saw that she was ashamed and pained. I saw an intelligent person and it became easier for me.... Now I have neither bile nor malice against those who were hostile to me. I would like people to understand one thing: this is impossible.... My parents never went anywhere—my father was disabled during the war. In Armenia, where we have distant relatives, we felt out of place. There was no work, nowhere to live; it was like being an orphan. I returned from Yerevan; they had kept my place at the school for me. And there I went into class, and the children cried 'Hooray! Nina Arutyunovna. Hooray!' And I melted. Fortunately the children did not realize all this...."

The teachers said that they would not have returned if they had not started to instill proper order in Baku, from top to bottom.

The rayon education office severely punished two laboratory assistants and two school teachers out of 18 school and preschool workers "for antipedagogical actions and anti-Armenian attacks." It was suggested that the director review whether or not they should be dismissed. But she decided to dismiss people only from one school. At a stormy meeting to discuss the guilty one the teachers agreed that they must consider their positions and actions in a humane way. The truth unites rather than disunites people. "But I cannot look some of them in the eye," Alla Igorevna admits. "I must keep a firm grip on myself. Even though I think that I made the right decision."

"We were on the brink of a precipice," the director of the No 6 school in the 26 Bakinskikh Komissarov Rayon, Leontiy Balatovich Aslanbekov, thinks. "And it seems that inside we felt this more than reason."

And none of the Armenians left this school. Everyone remained cohesive and no one is afraid to look anyone else in the eye. When the teachers gathered in the director's office and we dealt with the letters sent to the editorial office, he drew attention to the one feature of our life that we have somehow stopped noticing: national boundaries pass through living things—through families. There are more than a dozen such families in the school. They include the teachers: a Jewish woman is married to a Russian, an Armenian woman to an Azerbaijani, one Lezgin has a Russian mother, one Armenian is married to Russian, while Mina Dzhabarova has a Russian mother and an Azerbaijani father while her husband is an Armenian. When asked about his nationality, student Artur Akopov, the child of a mixed marriage, answered artlessly: "I am a Russian Armenian." Will it be that in years to come he will find some defect in one or the other aspect of his origin?

Let us look at the past. In our culture there was at least no such prejudice. Herzen wrote long ago: "We are above zoological scrupulousness and are quite indifferent to the question of racial purity, which in no way prevents us from being fully Slavic. We are very content that Finnish and Mongolian blood might flow in our veins...." Should we not now be convinced that a person's spiritual essence does not depend on the color of his hair and the ending of his surname?

It seems that moving people about and placing them like pieces on a chess board should be a cause for outrage. Whites only on this side, blacks on the other, and we can start a new party. When I was with Danielyan I met the former sector chief in the same Kasmorneftegazstroy specialized construction administration in which Albert Vladimirovich works. In our administration, he says, there are 16 works superintendents—four Azerbaijanis, the same number of Jews, and 8 Armenians. The Armenians have left. Who gains from this? He himself exchanged his apartment in Baku for a wooden house in Masisskiy Rayon: there is no gas, no water, but a good plot of land. But how, he says, can I be a farmer? He himself is an electrical specialist. His wife is a pest control officer; their daughter has graduated from the oil institute. The pay was R300, but what to do? "People have gone mad with fear."

We talked about how old milkmaid refugees who have settled with relatives in Baku have been found jobs at the knitted goods factory. There is no way they would go back: there is work, but they are afraid. And they are afraid to go back.

No matter who it is, everywhere this restructuring of their lives is agonizing. Some of the Armenian teachers left Baku. Azerbaijani teachers arrived. From afar it may

seem that people would find work for themselves in this dramatic casting, as in chess. But of the 346 refugee teachers from Armenia less than half have found jobs in Baku. They do not know Russian or they do not know it well enough to conduct lessons in Russian, while as a rule the Armenians used to teach in the Russian section. There are now shortages of historians and mathematicians in the city. They have been trying to find Baku teachers through Armenia's permanent representation in Moscow. Of the 30 with whom it has been possible to establish links, 20 have returned to their own schools. For many years now in Baku, teachers have been selected on a competitive basis, choosing only the best. The refugees, of course, have been found jobs outside the competitive system. But can the ordinary rural teacher adapt to the demands of a capital city within a competitive system? And the parents are not inclined to lower the standards. Some 4,000 schoolchildren have come to Baku. But many of them have not been to school for several months. It is hard for them and with them.

"We have lost part of the intelligentsia: teachers, engineers, physicians." Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee secretary Rafik Yagubovich Zeynalov describes the situation bitterly. "We have lost goods tradesmen: stone masons, plasterers, furniture makers, tailors.... And Armenia has lost part of its peasantry. Those ringleaders of the mobs, both here and there, pushing extremist demands, would scarcely think about the immediate consequences. Everyone who can tries to help the victims. And we punish those who have been engaged in incitement and instigation and who have incited crimes. We must not permit personal guilt to be drowned in the sea of general guilt. [no closing quotation mark as published]

In Azerbaijan hundreds of people who drove the Armenians from their work or connived at it have been subjected to administrative and party censure. They failed to take account of the fact that we are as numerous as their neighbors. But no matter how we tried to help them, thousands of refugees will probably remain painfully indignant for a long time, a deeply offended segment of society.

In the Shaumyanovskiy education office I saw an enormous polyethylene package with clothing. They explained that it was a school uniform for children from one of the teacher's family. They had arrived without their things. No vacancies have yet been found for the parents in the schools, and there are five children.

Teachers and parents in the rayon collected R40,000 to help the refugees, and R20,000 have been used to build a kindergarten in Divichy, where a new settlement will be marked out for the resettlers.... But according to the calculations of Azerbaijani economists, in order to settle all the refugees from Armenia (housing, work, schools, hospitals) it will be necessary to invest R5 billion. And what is the cost of settling the people from Azerbaijan in Armenia? Remember that the state has allocated R12

billion for the earthquake cleanup. The consequences of the economic disruption are almost the same as that catastrophe. As one Oriental scholar said to me, "The Transcaucasus is like a communal apartment. And the highest degree of tact and delicacy is required so as not to irritate open wounds."

"For what sins and on the basis of what law are we suffering?" the refugees ask. There are no sins, no law. Perhaps justice can be restored.

Until recently we had no idea of how much overripe irritation had built up in national relations, how much had gone into the press of the administrative-command system.

Social, cultural, economic and ecological disorders are now acquiring a national coloring. And it has become clear that we have no vaccine against departmental or national egoism. It is the same here as with Chernobyl: there, they believed in the faultless operation of atomic equipment; here, they believe in the indestructibility of a great friendship. And what has for a long time been kept back broke through with the destructive force of a disaster as soon as the bolts were withdrawn. Romantic youth, the highfalutin intelligentsia, and those in whom the lowest instincts seethe are lumped together in one mob. This contradictory diversity quite often confuses evaluation and emotion and hampers the search for the reasonable compromises without which we cannot manage.

We are rethinking earlier ethical stereotypes. Who will say with that former lack of perspicacity that we shall not merely wait for the boons of nature but that it is our task to wrest them from her? Who will say without a moment's hesitation that the public weal is always higher than the personal, when he remembers the stone-age conditions in which people lived when they were building the industrial giants? It is easy to say that whoever is not with us is against us. But how can we remain people without charity, tolerance and forgiveness? We are beginning to understand that a person deprived of these feelings has become dangerous for the planet, whose very existence now depends on people's will. We are turning to the ideas of general human solidarity on a world scale, and we are moving toward cooperation with those in whom just recently we saw a primordial and implacable class enemy. But as if in spite of this humane movement, centrifugal forces are arising, weakening our internal links. No matter how beautiful the national idea, when the paths chosen for its asseveration entail arbitrary rule and violence against people because of their nationality, and the preference of some over others not thanks to talent or labor, but because of birth, then it is time to consider whether there might be distortions in the propagation of the idea itself.

In their craving to bring the general happiness closer as quickly as possible, the characters in Platonov's "Chevengur," the new inhabitants of the city of the future,

engaged in "sanitation and hygiene" measures, destroying and driving out alien elements with no twinge of conscience. They were so benighted and naive that they truly believed in the possibility of purges of the blood. But as he looks at the past, a modern person should shudder when he learns about the familiar things in his own actions.

"When I remember those who were calling for the deaths of the Armenians I think: Are they not looking at the living faces of their friends and acquaintances?" I was told by chief of the Baku teachers Asif Dzhangirov, who himself grew up in Karabakh, where his father was a teacher. "I am horrified by what I see.... Today culture is measured not according to the level of knowledge, but the level of compassion and tolerance one to another, the level of mutual understanding and cooperation, the need to search for common ground, not exclusivity...."

What is to be done? Looking ahead, we must raise this level in our relations. A long and difficult matter? Yes, it is easy merely to trample down culture. But each new generation must over and over patiently be led to the ancient truth that man is the measure of all things or the measure of none.

Belorussia's Sokolov Gives May Day Speech in Minsk
PM1605073589 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 3 May 89 pp 1-2

[Speech by Ye. Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, at the Minsk May Day parade]

[Excerpts] Dear Comrades, Friends!

We are celebrating an unusual May Day today. One hundred years ago the symbols of the working people's international solidarity—May, peace, labor, and unity—came into the lives of working people and became near and dear to them.

In our peoples' consciousness they are inseparable from the ideals of Great October and socialism's achievements.

Today's holiday is also unusual because, through the May Day slogan, which expresses the desire of laboring people to live in peace, free from social and national oppression, the present stage of restructuring in our country is sounding a new note. [passage omitted]

The task of working collectives and party and social organizations is to ensure efficiency, high labor productivity, conscious discipline, organization, and responsibility.

There is no alternative to this. The Belorussian Communist Party and the republic's government believe, comrades, in the skilled hands of the workers and kolkhoz

workers, in the power of intelligentsia's reason, in the inexhaustible creative potential and enormous creative energy of Soviet Belorussia's people.

In the republic the working people's voice is sounding increasingly loudly against those who are trying to drown the renewal work in a demagogic flood of words and emotions, to use the healthy processes of democratization and glasnost for mercenary, personal or group interests, and to stir up political and social tension.

The act of fanning the flames of social conflicts for selfish benefit or to gratify inflated vanity directly harms the work to consolidate society.

We must all remember the today the solution to any economic, social, ecological, or cultural problem in one or another region in the country involves the interests of the entire Soviet people.

Here, as life shows, pure thoughts and an open heart, dialogue and mutual tolerance, delicacy and benevolence, and consideration of all the possible consequences are needed, particularly when it is a question of the growth of national self-awareness and the development of national cultures and languages.

The use of internationalism's enormous potential must be accompanied by irreconcilable struggle against attempts to set one people against another and to wreck the friendship between them.

Thanks to the new political thinking, the barriers of distrust among the planet's peoples are also being eradicated. They look with hope to our country. And we cannot destroy our own dream of a life worthy of man, just as we cannot deceive the expectations of the world's people, who see in restructuring's success the guarantee of peace and stability. [passage omitted]

Belorussian Minister of Justice Reassigned

PM1005155789 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 1

[Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree: "On Relieving Comrade V.O. Sukalo of His Post as Belorussian SSR Minister of Justice"]

[Text] The Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] resolves:

To relieve Comrade Valentin Olegovich Sukalo of his post as Belorussian SSR justice minister in connection with his transfer to other work.

G. Tarazevich, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
L. Syroyegin, secretary of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
29 April 1989, Minsk.

Shcherbitskiy Delivers Report to Ukraine Plenum

LD1605224689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] The tasks of the republic's party organizations in intensifying party political work in contemporary conditions were discussed at a Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee plenum on 16 May. A report was delivered by Comrade Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee.

The report and speeches provided an analysis of the political experience acquired in the course of restructuring and practical ways to deepen it further. The paramount tasks of political work today, it was said at the plenum, are to ensure the consolidation of society on the basis of the ideas of restructuring. The plenum also dealt with enhancing the role of the mass information media in solving the tasks of restructuring, with the problems of educating young people and intensifying the activity of law enforcement bodies. Questions on further developing the economy and the social sphere occupied an important place in the report and speeches.

[Moscow World Service in English at 2100 GMT on 16 May adds that: A full-scale meeting of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee in Kiev urged the party locals to resolutely rebuff nationalists and extremists, and to consistently improve interethnic relations. It paid considerable attention to the further advancement of the economy and the solution of social problems.]

Republican Culture Centers Set Up in Moscow

PM0905072689 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 May 89 Morning Edition p 1

[V. Belikov report: "National Centers in the Capital"]

[Text] On the eve of May Day the Moscow City Soviet commission on ethnic relations discussed the progress of work to set up national cultural and trade centers of the union republics.

One of the most popular places on Staryy Arbat is the Georgian "Mziuri" center. Its development is not complete: The second phase of reconstruction of the pedestrian zone provides for the center's expansion on the area of a covered courtyard, with provision for an increase in its trading area for the sale of souvenirs and craft goods and the setting up of a restaurant serving national cuisine.

The restoration of an old private house that was the heart of the Armenian settlement in Moscow back in the 18th century is nearing completion. The exhibition hall is already in operation and there is a small museum and premises equipped for the study of the Armenian language. Moscow construction and restoration workers are to help organize an Armenian cultural center in a neighboring building.

It was reported at the commission session that in Azerbaijan a competition is now in progress for the best design for a republican center to be sited on Bolshaya Sadovaya Street in Moscow. A site has been assigned at the beginning of Prospekt Mira for the Moldavian center, and in the Chistyey Prudy region for the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic culture and information mission. The idea of reequipping the "Tadzhikistan" Restaurant, now under construction, as a national center appears interesting.

Moscow City Soviet deputies supported the proposal to create a House of Friendship of Peoples of Russia at the USSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements. One of the little-frequented pavilions could be used for this purpose. The capital is also to have a special movie theater for showing artistic and documentary movies created by studios in union and autonomous republics.

In connection with the organization of the "Tugan Tel" voluntary Tatar cultural society in the capital, the standing commission asked the Moscow Soviet Executive Committee to allocate premises for a Tatar cultural center.

Ethnic Germans Set Up Regional Center in Orenburg
*LD1505200389 Moscow TASS in English 1915 GMT
15 May 89*

[Text] Moscow May 15 TASS—A regional national centre of Soviet Germans has been set up in the city of Orenburg in southern Urals. As the newspaper "NEUES LIEBEN", published by ethnic Germans in the Soviet Union, reported in its regular issue, participants in the founding meeting in Orenburg said that one of the center's functions was to represent the interests of ethnic Germans in Soviet bodies at the republican, regional and district levels.

Speakers stressed the need for all-round solutions to the immediate problems of the German population, such as the loss of their native language, of national customs and traditions. They spoke with a feeling of pain about a mass exodus of Soviet Germans to the FRG, which in their view was largely the result of those problems. Speakers called on ethnic Germans "not to seek a paradise in foreign lands", but rather to "vigorously contribute to a flourishing of national culture and economic wellbeing" at home.

GLASNOST Editor Predicts Increased Military Role
*PM1605115789 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE
in Danish 13 May 89 p 1 (MAGASIN section)*

[Report on interview with GLASNOST Editor Sergey Grigoryants by Henrik Schultz in Moscow: "No Medal for GLASNOST Editor"; date not given]

[Excerpt] "The Soviet Union's war veterans and invalids received 200 grams of soap as a New Year gift from the state this year. Out in the provinces potato rationing has

now been introduced. Each citizen receives 3 kilos per month. The economic situation in the country is catastrophic. The Soviet Union is on the verge of starvation."

The words come slowly and quietly. In a two-room apartment in one of Moscow's depressing concrete suburbs a small Armenian with heavy eyelids sat turning his pipe thoughtfully in his hands. His name is Sergey Grigoryants and he is the chief editor of the critical journal GLASNOST—a humble little publication which advocates press freedom, democracy, and the rule of law.

The paper is the Soviet Union's leading advocate of a society based on West European models. GLASNOST receives illustrations from the country's leading caricaturist, and critical economists and Western journalists submit articles. Grigoryants' work was awarded the "Golden Pen" prize in January by the International Federation of Journalists and Newspaper Publishers. However, Gorbachev does not greatly value Grigoryants, whom he has called a "parasite in Soviet society."

Grigoryants said of Gorbachev: "Politics is not what you say, but what you actually do. For example, as far as the reform of Soviet agriculture is concerned, Gorbachev has postponed real reforms for a number of years. The Soviet Union no longer 'has' these years. We have seen how the economic reforms are working in China, but here nothing is happening. The Soviet Union currently has uncontrollable inflation, and the shortage of goods grows worse day by day.

"Once there was a belief among the people that things would get better under socialism. There is no such belief any more. Today even the leadership has lost its faith that there is a future for this system. They are at a loss and afraid. They do not dare take the steps needed to deal with the country's major economic problems."

While Grigoryants was speaking a couple of young people were moving around the apartment that is lined with books and paintings. The apartment is GLASNOST's editorial offices. A year ago, when the publication had its editorial offices in a summerhouse, it was stormed by the police and archives and other materials were confiscated. Since then the authorities have been unwilling to grant the newspaper premises in Moscow and there is no prospect of any improvement. Family life, editorial work, and visits from friends and Western journalists all take place in the same two rooms. That is what life is like. GLASNOST's editor looks tired. But the paper is alive. It is printed in an edition of around 200 copies and is then distributed to all parts of the Soviet Union, where it is copied. In Paris GLASNOST has an edition of 20,000, in New York 10,000.

In the last few months some "dissidents"—Baltic nationalists, religious and socialist writers—have won space in the paper's columns. What is important is respect for the views of others.

"The democratic traditions in the Soviet Union are very weak. That is why I do not think that we could simply copy a given Western democratic country. We have to create a Russian democratic system, where the citizens have democratic rights, press freedom, and protection under the law. That will be difficult. I believe that the next few years will be bloody and difficult. The events in Tbilisi in Georgia will repeat themselves elsewhere in the country. Some people are talking about a military takeover. I myself am convinced that the role of the military will be strengthened in the coming months. But the military cannot feed the country. At the present time great Russian nationalism is being strengthened and by nature it is undemocratic. But at the same time things are stirring in the democratic camp. For me democracy is the only way out of the crisis." [passage omitted]

Medvedev Visits TV Studios, Notes Media's Role
LD1505195489 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1923 GMT 12 May 89

[From the "View" program, presented by Vladimir Mukusev]

[Text] Literally 2 days ago—or rather, 3 days ago now—there was a very serious conversation here, at this table, with Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the party's Central Committee, about criticism in general and about what "View" is up to and how we will continue. He came here to the television studios. Of course, the conversation was not just about "View", but about the role generally of the mass media in restructuring. There was talk of dialogue—of dialogue between the generations, above all. And of course, television has an enormous role to play in this dialogue—the mass media, television, and perhaps "View" as a tiny fraction of television. We would very much like this dialogue to happen and to continue and increase in vigor. At the end of this chat, we suggested to Vadim Andreyevich that this dialogue should be started. As we see it, it would be very important if the leaders of our party and state gathered around this table and held a dialogue with the listening public that is so proud of the program "View".

Nenashev Named Radio, TV State Committee Chairman
LD1605104689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1000 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium appointed Mikhail Fedorovich Nenashev chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio. He was relieved of his duties as chairman of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Industry, and Book Trade.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium relieved Aleksandr Nikiforovich Aksenov of his duties as chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio in connection with his retirement on pension.

Television Profiles Stalin's Interpreter Berezkhov
LD1405204889

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 12 May broadcast the first of a two-part documentary in which Vladimir Pozner profiles Valentin Mikhailovich Berezkhov, "engineer, interpreter, diplomat, and doctor of historical sciences, the personal interpreter of Molotov and Stalin in the prewar and wartime years." The second part is broadcast at 1755 GMT on 12 May. Both parts last 60 minutes.

Pozner says that only by interpreting the past can we understand the present, and he comments that this is why the reflections of those who witnessed the events of the past are so valuable. He says Berezkhov is just such a witness.

"What he has to say, of course, cannot be the definitive truth, for his utterances belong to one individual alone; but these are the impressions of an eyewitness, and that perhaps says everything." Though Berezkhov was present at secret negotiations, he nevertheless managed to survive, yet "it is well-known that witnesses of particularly secret aspects of summit politics were often silenced forever."

Berezkhov, who is interviewed in a living room, says that people were well aware that others simply disappeared "but you know, there was the sort of feeling that, well, why haven't they taken me? Why have they taken him, in particular, and not me? I know I have done nothing bad, nor had any evil thoughts, and I have not been taken; they have taken him instead. So perhaps there is something in it, then?"

Over archive footage of the frenzied construction work in the 1930's, Pozner describes Berezkhov's early career. "Having been an interpreter for the commander of the Far East fleet in that terrible year of 1938, Berezkhov later moved to Moscow, where he found himself on the staff of Mikoyan and then in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs." Berezkhov recounts that owing to the purge after Litvinov, virtually all those diplomatic staff who had worked under Lenin and Litvinov disappeared, leaving but a handful of diplomats in an echoing commissariat; Gromyko was one of the new intake. The arrival of new leaders such as Vyshinskiy and Dekanozov changed the atmosphere, which surviving diplomats described as being very democratic under Chicherin, where each could express his opinions. When Berezkhov and his colleagues arrived, he says, there was iron discipline; each knew his place and spoke only when spoken to. Vyshinskiy, for whom Berezkhov often interpreted, was renowned for his arrogance and harshness with subordinates; when Vyshinskiy was received by Molotov, however, he positively cringed.

Over archive footage of Moscow by night, Pozner says that the working hours in those years were set according to the whim of one man, who liked to work at night.

Berezhkov recounts how he was summoned by Mikoyan at 0300 one morning and instructed to go to Molotov in the Kremlin; describing how young people in those days were educated in a sense of piety toward the top leadership, who were placed on a pedestal and regarded with awe, he says he entered the Kremlin as if going into the holy of holies. This meeting with Molotov, Pozner says, over footage of Molotov in his study, marked a turn in Berezhkov's destiny: "He did not, of course, understand that then. Shaken by the fact that Molotov himself was sitting before him, Berezhkov understood one thing alone: that very evening he was leaving for Berlin, where he would translate the talks with Hitler."

Newsreels show Molotov's departure for Berlin and his arrival and reception. At that time he was chairman of the Soviet People's Commissars and People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the USSR. The Soviet delegation to Berlin comprised Molotov, Dekonozov, who was ambassador in Berlin, and two interpreters. On the German side were Hitler, Ribbentrop, and two interpreters. Archive footage of the meeting is shown while Berezhkov describes the scene, commenting on dictators' love of huge offices to give an impression of grandeur, and describes Hitler's appearance in detail. A summary of the talks follows: Hitler was, in effect, Pozner prompts, offering a carve-up of the world after the disintegration of the British empire. Berezhkov says, "Our actual reaction indicated to me that Molotov grasped that we should not allow ourselves to be drawn into this discussion, because he said right away that we had come there in connection with another matter. We are interested in why German troops are on our border, and furthermore, why they are in Finland."

Hitler, Berezhkov says, kept saying the same thing over and over again and several times lost his temper "and he said, all in all, if you are looking for reasons for conflict we can find a great many. He really behaved quite insolently and advised us not to seek points of conflict with Germany, and therefore it was better for us to discuss more important things.... I think he really wanted to drag Molotov into this affair; it was most likely a game, I imagine, because he very quickly calmed down and went on in a quite calm and normal tone, without emotion but in a very businesslike manner, calmly."

Hitler later left the talks on the pretext of having a lot to do in connection with the forthcoming invasion of Britain, and left Ribbentrop to continue the talks with the Soviet delegation. "Hitler in fact gave no answer regarding withdrawal of troops, nor did he get any agreement from us. I think he very much wanted, of course, to drag us into it so as then to leak this to the British and say that the Russians agreed to move into India—and then, of course, when the war started, they would attack us."

Berezhkov then recounts that after both sides had exchanged concluding remarks, Hitler bade the Soviets farewell and said, "I consider Stalin to be an outstanding

politician, an outstanding political personality who will go down in history as a major figure; and, Hitler said, I think I will also go down in history, and therefore two such major figures, two such major statesmen should meet one another. This is my formal invitation and proposal to Mr Stalin to hold such a meeting. The details will be conveyed through diplomatic channels. Molotov said he would convey this to Stalin."

In a digression entitled Four-Hand Game, archive footage of mass parades presided over by Hitler and Stalin is shown, while Pozner comments: "One does very much want to draw a parallel between the two chief protagonists in these two parades. Whereas Hitler played on chauvinism, advocating the exclusiveness of the Aryan race, and did indeed find a response in the Germany of those years, people saw in Stalin the continuer of the cause of Lenin, the cause of the revolution. Every cult is bad, of course; both were almost deified, it is true, but for different reasons, nonetheless. Incidentally, not everyone deified them; they were cursed by those languishing in camps both in Germany and in the Soviet Union."

How could Berezhkov, Pozner asks, remain indifferent to all this? Berezhkov says in reply: "It was not just that Stalin gave the wrong direction to the workers' movement, particularly in Germany, but he also created a negative image of the Soviet system, that is, of the system he himself was creating, which we—that is, some people—now consider to have been no socialism at all, or if it was socialism then it was barracks socialism. Well, the creation of this system, and the methods by which it was created, actually evoked a reaction in support of Hitler and helped Hitler's rise to power."

The USSR, Pozner says, over archive video of factories at work, played a great role in developing German industrial might, through trade and supplies of raw materials. "While censuring Nazism in words, we continued to cooperate with the Hitler regime." Berezhkov goes on: "In terms of propaganda, so to speak, we roundly condemned Hitlerite Germany throughout the whole period after Hitler came to power, and condemned fascism and Nazism and so forth. I recall something Mikoyan said when he recalled, among other things he related to me, how in 1934 Hitler took reprisals against Roehm, the leader of the SA, the storm troop units." Pozner gives the background to the story of Roehm's rise and fall from power, over archive footage of Nazi parades. "Roehm was the Fuehrer's right hand, his favorite; his popularity was second only to that of Hitler himself, and among soldiers and officers of the storm troops, exceeded Hitler's. Was that not why Hitler saw in Roehm a dangerous rival, and so destroyed him?"

Berezhkov resumes, saying that the affair was reported by TASS and in the press, "and Mikoyan told me that at the next Politburo session, virtually the next day, Stalin said, 'Have you heard the news from Germany? About what happened, how Hitler got rid of Roehm?' Then Stalin said, 'Good chap, that Hitler! He showed how to

deal with political opponents' Mikoyan said that most of them were positively dumbfounded at such a statement, that Hitler was a good chap for carrying out such a bloody reprisal. That was in 1934, in the summer, before Kirov."

Photographs then come up on screen, showing Hitler with Roehm and then Stalin side-by-side with Kirov. "To say openly like that in front of the Politburo what a good chap Hitler is, the way he dealt with political opponents—this idea probably caught on with him, the idea of repeating that experience in our country, the chance of getting rid of political opponents, so to speak. Nevertheless, concentration camps started in our country, if one is honest, and then Hitler came to power and set up his own concentration camps. The so-called enemies of the people were sent there; he sent his own enemies there, the Communists and Social Democrats and others, for their political views and sometimes even for no reason at all, but because he thought they were a threat to him. You understand, that phrase—that's how to deal with political opponents and what a good chap Hitler is—I have no grounds for thinking that Comrade Mikoyan distorted that in any way; it is probably exactly how it was. I believe it was, because later—everything that evolved later, right up until the attack—Hitler thought, on the one hand, that he knew what Stalin was thinking, so to speak, and on the other hand Stalin also thought he could read the way that Hitler's thoughts were going."

Berezhkov resumes his account of the Berlin talks, saying that the afternoon session was interrupted by an air-raid alarm; talks continued in Ribbentrop's bunker, giving rise to Molotov's famous phrase: "If Britain is crushed, then whose aircraft are those over the Reich capital, and why are we sitting in this bunker?" Ribbentrop then went on, Berezhkov recounts, to propose that the Soviet Union should join the tripartite anti-Comintern pact, comprised of Germany, Italy, and Japan. Over photographs of the participants in the talks, Pozner adds a proviso to correct Berezhkov's account here: The pact referred to here was not the anti-Comintern pact of 1936, but the tripartite pact of September 1940; the essence was the same, however.

After some weeks had passed, Molotov, at a meeting with the German Ambassador Schulenburg, gave Soviet agreement to joining the tripartite pact, under certain conditions. "This was on 28 November 1940, and it was said that in response to the proposals made by Ribbentrop on the last day of the talks, 15 November 1940, that is, regarding joining the tripartite pact, the Soviet Union was ready to examine the issue of joining this pact, on the following conditions. First, the withdrawal of German troops from Finland, which according to the 1939 accord falls within the USSR's sphere of influence. Second, a guarantee of the security of the Soviet Union's Black Sea borders and a mutual assistance pact with Bulgaria. The third condition was a base for the Soviet Armed Forces in the Bosphorus and Dardanelles region,

on long-term lease, and also consideration of the Soviet aspirations south of Batumi and Baku in the general direction of the Persian Gulf, and finally Japan's renunciation of claims to exploit coal and oil in Northern Sakhalin." These, Berezhkov affirms, on prompting from Pozner, were the terms under which the Soviet Union would have agreed to join the anti-Comintern pact. Asked what he had thought of such an incredible step by the USSR, Berezhkov says that he was both young and heavily indoctrinated: He had no doubt that anything deriving from Stalin and Molotov might not be right and proper. Joining an anti-Comintern pact was indeed almost unthinkable, but by then Stalin had already issued instructions to Comintern itself to stifle criticism of fascism and resume criticism of the Social Democrats.

The USSR, Pozner interposes over archive footage, was not the only country to hold talks with Hitlerite Germany: Britain and France had sent their premiers to Berlin, too, with the aim of directing Hitler's ire toward the East, to destroy Bolshevism. This was crowned by the 1938 deal over Czechoslovakia. Video shows archive footage of Hitler and Chamberlain and others poring over maps of central Europe. In August 1939, Ribbentrop had come to Moscow to sign the nonaggression pact; that would probably never have been possible without Munich. On 23 August 1939, the nonaggression pact between Germany and the USSR was signed: Those who condemn it, Berezhkov says over archive photographs of Stalin and Ribbentrop, fail to take account of the circumstances and the inevitability of an immediate German attack if the USSR had refused. Over archive footage of British and French leaders speaking over national radio to condemn the Soviets for their action, Pozner recaps the British and French concessions to Hitler.

"Half a century has gone by," Pozner says, "but the disputes have not yet died down. Was the signing of the pact justified? Was it accompanied by a secret protocol? It is not up to us to answer that last question, all the more so in that the originals of these documents have not been made public by anyone. As for the pact itself, well, yes, it was justified; it postponed the war." Over video of a document in German entitled *Geheimes Zusatzprotokoll* [Secret Supplementary Protocol], Pozner goes on: "But in addition to arithmetic, there is algebra in history, too, complex equations, and alongside the known quantities there are unknown ones as well. Arithmetically speaking, everything seems to tally. Algebra, however, indicates that postponing the war gained absolutely nothing, while the agreement with Hitler scattered the seeds of grave problems which we are still disentangling today."

Even more damage was done to Soviet prestige, however, Pozner goes on, by Ribbentrop's second visit to Moscow and the signing on 28 September 1939 of the treaty on borders and friendship immediately following the dismemberment of Poland. Berezhkov adds that a

treaty on the border was necessary because a new frontier had been drawn, but why it had to be a friendship treaty is unclear. There were secret protocols here, too, confirming the Soviet sphere of interest in Finland, among other things. Documents in German signed by Ribbentrop and Molotov, dated 28 September 1939, are showing. It was this, Berezhevskiy affirms, that initiated the Soviet-Finnish war, though it is up to historians to establish who fired the first shot.

World War I began with Germany's attack on Poland on 1 September 1939, just a few hours after Molotov had announced in the USSR Supreme Soviet that the USSR and Germany were no longer enemies. Archive footage shows German battle tactics in progress. The USSR's action of 17 September 1939 in moving into western Ukraine and western Belorussia was a spontaneous action in support of compatriots. "Indeed," Pozner says, "western Ukraine and western Belorussia were annexed by Poland as a result of the civil war, so reunification can be considered to be historically justified." After archive footage of the red flag being raised in Ukrainian and Belorussian villages, Berezhevskiy recounts anecdotes about joint parades of Soviet and German troops in the Dnieper area at the time, where he was interpreting for Molotov. Pozner comments on footage showing Soviet and German officers shaking hands; the attempt to postpone the war failed, and cost the USSR millions upon millions of lives.

The second part of the documentary begins with footage of Berlin on 21 June 1941, just hours before the German invasion of the USSR. That same day, Beriya wrote to Stalin asking for Dekanozov, USSR ambassador in Berlin, to be recalled for continuing to bombard him with warnings of an imminent German attack. Berezhevskiy was first secretary in the Berlin embassy at the time. After many fruitless attempts to obtain an audience with Ribbentrop, at 0200 on 22 June Berezhevskiy and Dekanozov were summoned to Ribbentrop, and were presented with the Hitler memorandum announcing the attack on the USSR. As the Soviets left, Berezhevskiy says, "a wholly unexpected scene took place. Ribbentrop came after me, and in a whisper, right in my ear, started to say 'Please convey to Moscow that I was against this war, that it is ruinous for Germany, Germany is doomed, and that I tried to persuade Hitler against starting this war, but Hitler would not listen.'" Barely hours before Goebbels condemned the so-called Anglo-Soviet pact, Pozner recalls, Beriya had issued instructions regarding punishment of diplomatic and other staff whom he accused of "disinformation" over warnings of German preparations for war. Moscow radio announced the invasion only at 1200 Moscow time, and Berezhevskiy reminds us that it was Molotov who told the nation, not Stalin, who was too afraid to admit he had made a mistake in trusting Hitler.

Berezhevskiy recounts the problems of the USSR Embassy staff stranded in Berlin after the invasion had begun.

There had been many indications of the German preparations: German diplomats' families had left months before, German ships had left Soviet ports only partly loaded, yet the signals had not been heeded.

The Western powers, Pozner comments, had no doubt that the USSR would fail, and the high-ranking delegations from the United States and Britain who arrived in Moscow in October 1941 resembled a collegium of doctors assessing how long the patient had yet to live. Video shows archive footage of Lord Beaverbrook and Harriman and delegations arriving at the Kremlin. Berezhevskiy describes the scene, stressing the awe he felt before Stalin despite the desperate nature of the war situation. A theatrical atmosphere was created as the delegations awaited the appearance of Stalin himself, but, Berezhevskiy says, he was rather disappointed in Stalin because he looked so ill, tired, and small compared to the touched-up photographs and busts of the leader. "I think that probably the terrible blow he had had, the shock he had experienced when he had been mistaken, and then the dreadful losses—he also saw he had been mistaken in terms of the main strike—and his instructions to hold out to the very last man, which was senseless when what they should have done was to withdraw and conserve manpower so that these soldiers could fight on—all this doubtless made a great impression on him; he lost a terrific amount of weight; he really looked like a sick man." Berezhevskiy describes Stalin's handshake—a thin, bony hand, a weak grip—and then talks about Stalin's manner, his negotiating technique, his quiet tone and confidence that everyone would listen to him and obey him; and what it was like to translate for Stalin. Berezhevskiy's account of the negotiations stress Stalin's skill and success in inspiring confidence. Archive footage of the signing of the Anglo-Soviet agreement in June 1941 and of wartime convoys is accompanied by Pozner's commentary to the effect that "the help was too little and too late to be regarded as a key factor in our victory."

Over excerpts from "The Grand Alliance" from British War Pictorial News, showing the preparations for the Tehran meeting, Pozner comments that "in this British newsreel, the Tehran meeting is portrayed as the triumph of the unity of the forces of good over the forces of evil, as the guarantee of victory and a serene future. There are no grounds for doubting the sincerity of the British commentator. After all, he could not know about the meeting between the future CIA director Allen Dulles and representatives of the Third Reich, and about the particular views of each of the three leaders regarding the postwar order. The war against the common enemy led to an alliance which, although welcomed by the people, was regarded by the leaders themselves as a compulsory alliance which was somewhat unnatural and therefore unhealthy."

Winston Churchill is shown presenting Stalin with a sword in recognition of the Stalingrad victory: "It is amazing," Pozner comments, "how time endows with special meaning an event far in the past. In this newsreel,

the announcer describes how Voroshilov is the main personality in the victory at Stalingrad." Voroshilov and Molotov are shown flanking Stalin, who is presented with a sword by Churchill. Pozner points out that the presentation is edited, because "the future generalissimo" actually drops the sword, which is rescued by Voroshilov. "Voroshilov was, of course, described here as the hero of Stalingrad by mistake, foolhardily, and indeed, Stalin inadvertently dropped the sword. But in conjunction with what happened later, these chance occurrences assume a secret meaning, and the pictures of the big three which follow them in the newsreel, and Roosevelt's words in particular, may seem a mockery: 'This conference has forged the United Nations into a single sword which is being wielded as if by a single brain and a single hand.'"

After Berezhkov's reminiscences of Stalin's tactics at the Tehran meeting, which he describes, prompted by Pozner, as a "game of poker," archive footage of Churchill's visit to Moscow is accompanied by Pozner's comment that at that time it was hard to believe that the leaders of the big three were not telling the truth: Stalin and Churchill are shown sharing a joke sitting on a very small sofa.

Following a digression by Berezhkov on Stalin's need to forestall criticism of life in the Soviet Union by returning soldiers who had seen a higher standard of living, even in Hitlerite Germany after a ruinous war, Pozner asks Berezhkov about the more mundane aspects of the Tehran conference, including anecdotes about Beriya's eating habits. "Our delegation in Tehran consisted of Stalin, Molotov, and Voroshilov. What is interesting, though, is that Beriya was in Tehran; that was not printed or mentioned anywhere. I think this is the first time I have said this in public." The cuisine at such conferences, Berezhkov points out, was luxurious despite the strictures of war; Churchill was apparently somewhat shocked to find caviar and fine food at the Kremlin, and had brought sandwiches and a thermos with him. Berezhkov relates a comment Stalin made to Molotov after this incident: "What a demagogue, he really wants me to believe he lives on sandwiches!" Berezhkov comments that even the interpreters were poorly fed, so that translating at sumptuous dinners while being unable to eat was a sore trial. On one occasion Stalin lost his temper with Berezhkov, who had actually taken a mouthful of beef and could not instantly translate; Berezhkov was afraid Beriya would have noticed the incident.

Pozner says, "Had Beriya wanted to destroy Berezhkov, however, he would not have needed an incident like that; he would have just destroyed him, as he destroyed hundreds of thousands of others. Valentin Mikhailovich was lucky: what he saw, working here in the Kremlin, and what he heard from Stalin, Molotov, and Mikoyan, and from others too, what it was dangerous not only to talk about but even think for many years—this is our heritage. Transferring to another post in 1944,

Berezhkov kept silent for 20 years about the fact that he had worked for Stalin: this was Molotov's order. He spoke about a great many other things for the first time in this film. Today, armed with the strongest microscope—time—we are able to discern and understand the events of the past; for only very few people were capable of scrutinizing them as they happened, and in circumstances where the father of the people was generally idolized."

Berezhkov concludes by talking about the atmosphere of the time: "It seems to me that the most terrible of Stalin's crimes was that he instilled into our souls the acceptance of the system he created and made out to be socialism. We thus, all in all, believed that we were all taking part in building socialism to such a degree that it is now very difficult for us to strike it out and say that the wrong things were being done. We accepted it, and considered almost normal the way of life, a way of life which was in effect semi-slavery. He wholly distorted our psyche, you understand. I think that is the most terrible thing he did."

Reflecting on his work alongside Stalin, an affable and lucid host, Berezhkov says he never had the feeling that Stalin was "such a monster, such a criminal, such a bloody horror; really I didn't. Even now, people cannot understand it. People really did go to their deaths crying for the motherland, for Stalin. You know, we must treat these people carefully, we must not simply say oh, those Stalinists, they are getting in the way of everything. It's deep inside them, it's a hard thing to live through." Pozner concludes, over video of a clock and shots of Berezhkov walking along a street, with reflections on the importance of time and how it changes our perceptions of events.

Stalin Prisoner Says Offered Compensation 'Mockery'
PM1605074389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 May 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Letter from K. Shishlok, member of the CPSU since May 1927, in Yaroslavl under the rubric "Letters '...Not For Publication'": "There's Compensation for You!"]

[Text] People unlawfully deprived of their freedom now receive monetary compensation for the entire period of unjustified imprisonment in the event that they are rehabilitated. The victims of Stalin's tyranny are treated differently. They are paid monetary compensation for just 2 months based on their wages at their last place of work.

Let me tell you about myself. I was originally imprisoned for no reason at all, tortured, and then deported to a camp in Kolyma. I worked 16-18 hours a day, in the most servile conditions. I was kept in jail for 9 years and 1 month. Total tyranny! I was rehabilitated in 1954.

I was recently invited to receive monetary compensation. My monthly wage in 1937 was R300. I have now been offered R60. This pitiful sum is to compensate for maimed lives, the loss of the best young years of one's life, the loss of one's family, and so forth.

I refused this charity. What is this?—a mockery of those tormented in the thirties? Is this not evidence of the influence of Stalinists, who have evidently still retained their positions?

Prosecutors Seek Evidence After Restaurant Shootout
PM1105105889 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 May 8 p 2

[Unattributed report under the rubric "You Asked Us To Explain": "Why Was There Shooting in a Restaurant?"]

[Text] "What happened at the 'Stary Zamok' restaurant in Profsoyuznaya Street?" That is the question that readers were asking the editorial staff over the telephone after the May Day holidays.

You can understand people's anxiety: They heard shots, and rumors have a habit of developing in geometric progression. All the same, this whole event can certainly be called extraordinary, because firearms were actually used and because there were casualties.

The "showdown" between the two groups, people of Georgian nationality and some inhabitants of Lyubertsy, was on 2 May and was preceded by a fight that occurred the night before. One of the restaurant's staff members was celebrating his birthday in the "Stary Zamok." At the moment it is difficult to say what the cause of the fight was (maybe it was a drunken brawl), but the man celebrating his birthday was warned then that a "showdown" would take place the next day. And it did.

The man whose birthday it was was killed by a pistol shot in broad daylight. Three of his friends were also seriously wounded, one of them receiving a penetrating wound in the abdominal cavity. The exchange of fire was short. Near the restaurant, militiamen discovered the victim and the TT pistol which had been thrown away by someone.

A serious crime has been committed. A special group has been formed to investigate it, and the inquiry is being conducted by the Moscow prosecutor's office. As the "showdown" took place during the day, there were many witnesses. Some of them have already given evidence, and this will of course help the investigation. But there are probably other witnesses too, those who remember the participants and can help establish a full picture of what happened. The Moscow prosecutor's office is turning to them with a request to call 338-30-11 or 338-28-55.

Contents of KOMMUNIST Issue No 7 Reported
PM0805132189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Journal's Latest Issue"]

[Text] Issue number seven of the CPSU Central Committee theoretical and political journal KOMMUNIST opens with an editorial entitled "The Creative Energy of Leninism." It says that our era of revolutionary restructuring and social renewal are also an era of the rebirth of Leninism. We are turning to Lenin's legacy as an undiminishing source of revolutionary, democratic, and humanitarian thought, generating new thinking for our country and for the whole world.

There is a commentary by V. Nekrasov, "At a Crucial Stage," on M.S. Gorbachev's visits to Cuba and Britain.

An article entitled "Break Free From Myths and Dogmas" by A. Nekipelov is printed under the "Restructuring: Theory and Practice" rubric. There are also Stephen Cohen's thoughts: "Restructuring Is a Journey in Search of the New...." The well-known Princeton University professor examines the processes of renewal taking place in our country.

An article by T. Sinyukova and V. Sinyukov, entitled "Human Rights: Time for New Decisions," is printed in the "Toward a New Face for Socialism" section.

There is an article by V. Nedoshivin entitled "Cultural Authority"; in the "Social Protection" section a group of authors examines problems connected with the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism in an article entitled "Sober Words About Sobriety."

The journal includes a "Debates and Discussions" section which continues the discussion of questions of improving interethnic relations. There is a large selection of letters in the "Public Opinion" section.

An article by N. Babayev and I. Kuzmin entitled "'Absolute' Security, or Acceptable Risk?" on the prospects for nuclear energy is printed under the "Science and Education" rubric.

There is an article by Ye. Plimak, entitled "In the School of Great Revolutions." There is a review, "A New Stage in Poland's Life," of W. Jaruzelski's book "Selected Works. February 1981-July 1988."

The articles "Marxists and Christians" by L. Mitrokhin and "Reasonable Sufficiency—the Path to Secure Peace" by L. Semeyko are printed under the rubric "The Modern World: Trends and Contradictions." The West German Social Democrats' stance on arms reduction problems is reflected in A. von Buelow's theses "On the Inability To Attack."

Scientific

Space Officials Describe 'Photon' Project

LD1605175989 Moscow TASS in English 1729 GMT
16 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—The fifth flight of a purpose-built technological satellite, Photon, is an important stage in the work in the material studies field, which has been conducted in the USSR for over ten years now, Aleksandr Dunayev, head of the USSR Chief Administration for the Development and Use of Space Engineering for the Economy and Research (Glavkosmos), told a news conference today.

The Photon satellite was propelled into an orbit by the Soyuz booster-rocket from the Plisetsk spaceport on April 26 and on May 11 its descending module landed in the area of Orenburg.

By the way, the same landing craft was used during the two previous launches of the Photon. The scientific equipment aboard the satellite weighs 405 kilograms. Its technological plants were used to conduct experiments to grow crystals, weld semiconductors, metal and optical materials and bioexperiments.

Their results are important to basic science but can also find application even now in medicine, the electronic industry and other areas. According to Dunayev, the flight cost 6.5 million roubles.

It was for the first time ever that an instrument manufactured by the French firm Matra was installed in the Soviet satellite on commercial terms. It is designed to study the conduct of liquids and gases in zero gravity conditions.

"Experiments in material sciences are conducted both in unmanned satellites and at the Mir orbital station", Dr Vitaliy Tatarchenko, deputy director of the Kompozit Science and Production Association, noted. "In several cases it is impossible to do without a man, although the presence of a cosmonaut creates microgravitation and can disrupt, for instance, the protein crystallisation process. When we practice the technology to a sufficient degree, it will be possible to switch totally to materials production aboard pilotless spacecraft".

Vladimir Kozlov, head of the Photon Design Bureau, said a purpose-built technological satellite, Nika, is under development now to replace the Photon in the next decade. It will have a by far longer service life in orbit—120 days instead of 16 and a big power to weight ratio. The mass of the technological equipment returned to earth will increase to 1,200 kilograms.

Dunayev recalled that a technological module, in which semiconducting materials in quantities of up to tens of kilograms will be obtained, will be docked to the Mir station right after the service module. He added that

blueprints of purpose-built platforms—space factories at which hundreds of kilograms of miscellaneous materials can be produced—are being drawn up even now.

[Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 16 May carries a brief report on this press conference which attributes the following remarks to Dunayev: "A new crew will be launched to the Mir orbital station in August. It will have to ensure the docking of the station's two scientific modules. Dunayev also said that the 'Photon' technological satellites are being replaced by larger apparatuses capable of operation in orbit for several months."]

Repeat Tests Performed on Zaporozhye Reactor

PM1605145189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 May 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by R. Ignatyev under the rubric "Fact and Commentary": "Tests on Reactor"]

[Text] The state commission has decided to carry out repeat tests on the fifth reactor at the Zaporozhye nuclear electric power station [AES].

The station's latest unit is one of the so-called "million-kilowatts" ["millionniki"]. It was installed very belatedly. There have been difficulties. IZVESTIYA No 135 wrote that permission had been given to load fuel into the fifth reactor of the Zaporozhye AES. But we were informed from the USSR State Committee for the Supervision of Safe Working Practices in the Atomic Power Industry [Gosatomenergondzor] that this operation had had to be deferred. The point is that the USSR Gosatomenergondzor failed to receive convincing confirmation of the reliability of some of the unit's equipment and systems ensuring the safety of the Zaporozhye AES. The state commission then decided to carry out repeat tests on individual types of equipment and elements of the reactor's technological systems.

In contrast to previous units this "million-kilowatt" is distinguished by the fact that it was installed in accordance with a strict procedure aimed at increasing safety. In this connection additional work costing R15 million has been carried out.

After the tests on the bloc have been completed and the data have been carefully analyzed and if positive results have been obtained, the matter of loading it with fuel will be examined. With the commissioning of the latest reactor electricity from it will start to reach the industrial enterprises of Zaporozhye and the Donbass. According to the plan it is intended to construct a sixth unit of increased safety. Its yield will also be 1 million kilowatts.

Military

Officials Discuss Sinking of Nuclear Submarine

Chernavin Interviewed on Accident

PM1605111189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 13 May 89 First Edition p 2-3

[Interview with Admiral of the Fleet V. Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy, by Captain First Rank S. Bystrov, editor in charge of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's naval department: "The Foundering of the 'Komsomolets': Reality and Conjecture"; date and place of interview not given; first two paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] The foundering of the Soviet nuclear submarine "Komsomolets" in the Norwegian Sea continues to worry the public. It is only natural that the mass media, which is not taking their eyes off the event, are playing a large role here. Unfortunately, far from all the information given by them is objective in nature, not all journalists' ideas, conclusions, and deductions correspond to reality.

Of course even today the state commission, which is continuing its work, has not completely clarified all issues. However, even incomplete information should not be distorted. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has received letters from survivors of the "Komsomolets" crew which express concern at the persistent liberties taken by some newspapers and magazines in their assessments. The editorial office hopes that this conversation will enable readers to form a more complete opinion of what happened to the nuclear-powered "Komsomolets" and what awaits it.

[Bystrov] Vladimir Nikolayevich, how did you learn about the accident aboard the "Komsomolets," and how did events develop on shore on receipt of the alarm radiogram from the submarine?

[Chernavin] On the morning of 7 April I was at a conference with the minister of defense. I was unexpectedly summoned and told that the Northern Fleet Staff and the Navy Main Staff had received a signal from a submarine at 1141. The signal was greatly distorted and was therefore difficult to understand. However, it was already clear that something had gone wrong. But where precisely? In which ocean. I got into my car and drove to the Main Staff. En route I telephoned the chief of the Main Staff. By now the Northern Fleet had already managed to roughly determine where the submarine was. At 1219 a clear signal was received from it, and all immediately became clear: The kind of ship, its location, and the fact that there was a fire on board. People immediately set about determining which naval, civil, and foreign ships and vessels were in the submarine's vicinity. This task is not so easy, but it had been practised, so the situation therefore soon became clear: Three vessels were simultaneously within 51-70 miles of the submarine. They were our hydrographic ship "Kolguev" and the mother ship "Aleksey Khlobystov," and

a trawler belonging to the "Sevryba" Association. They all immediately received the order through their own channels to proceed to the submarine's location. Aircraft were simultaneously sent up, and a detachment of Northern Fleet rescue forces and the nuclear-powered missile cruiser "Kirov" were sent to the disaster zone.

That is to say, urgent measures were taken in literally a matter of minutes. Admiral F. Gromov, commander of the Northern Fleet, reported this to me and I ordered him to continue studying the situation surrounding the disaster area and determine the possibility of offering the submarine assistance employing the means available to other USSR departments and also Norway. Very experienced specialists started this.

Another signal had been received from the submarine by that time, reporting that they had a fire in the number 7 compartment and that contact with two sailors had been lost. The situation was, of course, very difficult, but nothing foretold the tragic outcome. A fire aboard a submarine is not, unfortunately, so rare a thing. During my command of a nuclear submarine I myself had to contend with various short circuits and flash fires, although not, it is true, so considerable. When I commanded a division and flotilla, however, I had to deal with more serious incidents. So it was not difficult to picture the initial situation on the "Komsomolets." The fact that it subsequently began to develop in a pretty unusual fashion is another matter.

The way of fighting a fire in a compartment is well known to all submariners: The compartment is hermetically sealed to prevent ingress of air and the LOKS fire-extinguisher system, which fixes the oxygen, comes into action. The LOKS system is usually effective enough. But we are now working on the hypothesis, and will be testing it out, that LOKS is not so effective at very high temperatures. But in general any fire on a submarine is (and the submariner understands this) very dangerous.

The commander continued to report quite calmly the situation on board his ship and the actions of the personnel. Even at 1518 hours Captain First Rank Ye. Vanin reported in his communication that there was no ingress of water and that the fire was being extinguished by the hermetic sealing. Moreover, at 1650 hours a report was received from the submarine commander via the mother ship "Aleksey Khlobystov": "The situation in the number 5 compartment is normal, it is being visited periodically by personnel. The fight for survival goes on."

As Captain First Rank B. Kolyada, deputy division commander and second in command on board, subsequently told me, Vanin and he adjudged the situation as follows: The fire was localized in number 6 and 7 compartments, speed had been lost, but there was no threat of sinking, and there was every possibility of being towed to base.

The report of the foundering of the submarine was a surprise for everyone, of course, including me. The rapidly set-up state commission, with CPSU Central Committee Secretary O.D. Baklanov as a member, flew to Severomorsk on Saturday 8 April.

[Bystrov] The commission's work has been marked by an atmosphere of glasnost. How did this affect the commission's work and how did you regard it?

[Chernavin] First, I consider that quite right. Although, to be blunt, we had had no experience of such work in conditions of glasnost. Nor clearly had representatives of the mass media either. Difficulties and sometimes clashes arose therefore.

A conflict arose with KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondents, for example. They wanted to board the cruiser "Kirov," which had brought back the rescued sailors. They were refused and given explanations for the refusal. The correspondents did not want to listen. Yet the decision was made out of the most humane considerations for the submariners. It also applied to us, the members of the state commission. The doctors considered that people who had been under extreme strain and who were in a serious physical condition and state of morale should not be subjected to any irritations until they had emerged from that condition. The presence of a large number of people, questions, and the clicking of camera shutters had to be excluded.

The problem could have been approached in the following way, of course: Let them have an interview, take their photographs, and let someone else sort out what subsequently happens to the casualties. We could not do that, as we already had bitter experience. After all, 30, not 27, submariners were taken out of the water alive. Doctors were unable to save Ordinary Seaman A. Grundul while Lieutenant Captain S. Nezhtin and Lieutenant I. Molchanov felt fine after receiving necessary medical attention. They came to lunch with everyone else. They ate and then, contrary to their doctors' warning, started smoking, and both died.

Why? Their extremely weakened organisms could not withstand the charge of nicotine. It became clear that any surprise was possible, and it was therefore necessary to treat the rescued very carefully. After all, even when they attempted to take the first photograph in the hospital about 3 days later, this produced a strong reaction of irritation and disgruntlement among the submariners. It is difficult, of course, for healthy people to imagine the state of those who have experienced a disaster. But many of them could not sleep properly until the 3d day.

So to accuse us of a desire for undue secrecy and a bias toward protecting our own departmental interests is, I think, incorrect. And yet when someone, even if a journalist, seeks to place his professional interests above all others, surely that's a narrow departmental approach?

The offense felt by the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondents took the form of their publishing articles that misinformed the whole country.

Members of the state commission, however, paid great heed to the doctors' warning. It was decided to allow only four people aboard the "Kirov": the commander of the Northern Fleet and a member of its military council, a member of the Navy Military Council, and me. However, we did not meet with the submariners, nor even contact them by telephone. Although you can imagine how we needed first-hand information.

On the cruiser we merely listened to the physicians who had accompanied the rescued and tasked the doctors who came from the hospital with examining the submariners with a view to determining the possibility of transferring the casualties to the hospital. The next day the doctors also refused us permission to meet with the submariners. And it was only a day later that they gave us a list of the people with whom we were allowed to hold brief conversations. The doctors were present during the conversation monitoring the condition of their patients and signaled to us when to end the meeting.

From the viewpoint of our own departmental interests and the interests of the commission, we had to begin asking questions right away. But it never entered anybody's head to sacrifice the interests of people's health.

[Bystrov] Nevertheless, you can understand the journalists' thinking: The readers and the country are waiting for detailed facts. True, information is sometimes hard to give but it must be given even if it is only partial information.

[Chernavin] That is why on the first day of the state commission's work in the fleet a press center attached to it was set up under commission member V.A. Bukatov. On the very first evening he was ready to give journalists the information that he had, but only the representatives of two central newspapers, one of which was KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, incidentally, came to the meeting with him (either they hadn't all been notified or simply they didn't turn up). Subsequently we tried to provide the most important information at regular intervals. But that, apparently, was not enough. The journalists thought that we were still hiding something from them all the time. In fact we ourselves constantly wanted more information than we actually had. But can you imagine how for example I or any other official could report things that we were not sure of or had doubts about?

[Bystrov] Yes, any mistake of that kind, duplicated in millions of newspapers, would be seen in a very bad light when it has to be corrected.

[Chernavin] That is why glasnost, in my view, demands the utmost responsibility. It is a bad thing when there is a shortage of information, but it is incomparably worse when deeply worried people are given disinformation. Issue No 18 of OGONEK, for example, published an

article entitled "Tragedy in the Norwegian Sea: Myths and Realities" by Vaiz Yunisov. I shall quote just one sentence: "It is estimated that it would take the average rescue ship 1.5-2 hours to get from Bodo to the place where the KOMSOMOLETS sank." If that were so we could indeed be accused of a criminal refusal to save our sailors. But let us do some real calculations. It is 720 km from Bodo to the place where the KOMSOMOLETS sank. To cover that distance in 2 hours you have to travel at 360 kilometers per hour, that is, the speed of a propeller aircraft. If such a high-speed ship had appeared anywhere in the world (a whole factor faster than existing ones) that would have been the event of the century. Generally speaking there were so many mistakes in that article that if the crew of the KOMSOMOLETS had made even a fraction of that number the submarine would have sunk without having time to surface. Yet they, and the fleet command which made the decision, were working in such an extreme situation and to such a rigid timetable that by the theory of probability alone, mistakes were bound to happen. Vaiz Yunisov, compared with his fellow journalists, clearly had the most time to prepare his article. He was able to consult with specialists from the Main Staff. And the standing of that popular journal could only have benefited from that. But the most important thing is that many millions of readers would not have been misled.

[Bystrov] Perhaps this is the effect of the stereotyped cautious attitude toward the Main Staff, which usually forbids journalists more than it allows them?

[Chernavin] I agree. But times are changing fast and the Main Staff's functions in its relationship with the mass media is being reviewed from day to day. And opposition here is simply futile. Fair criticism, no matter how unpleasant, is beneficial. But uninformed criticism and unfounded complaints—what do they contribute apart from an eruption of bitterness among the public?

[Bystrov] I think it appropriate now to turn to the question raised most avidly by many people on the Navy command's alleged initial and unjustified refusal of the option of help from Norwegian helicopters. Let us spend some time on that to finally clear things up.

[Chernavin] Yes, that is necessary. ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, for example, in an article entitled "Was There a Chance?" cites Arild Oserod, deputy chief of the main staff rescue service in Bodo (Norway): "The Bodo base has two Sea King helicopters. Two more Sea Kings are based nearby—at Lakselv (in Finnmark Province). Within 1-2 minutes of receipt of a message from the headquarters at Murmansk or a distress signal directly from your submarine two or four helicopters could be airborne. The Sea King has a maximum speed of 215 kilometers per hour and a flight range of 900 km without refueling. The helicopters would have reached the scene of the accident in 2.5 hours." Subsequently it was said that by means of ladders the

helicopters could have taken 18 or 19 men aboard and refueled on Bear Island or on the Norwegian coastal protection ship "Andenes," which was 108 km from the submarine.

It should be added immediately here that even had the helicopters arrived 2.5 hours after the "Komsomolets" surfaced not one sailor would have been helped by them. The crew had no reason to do so, it did not think that the ship would sink. Soviet naval men (like their civilian counterparts, furthermore) have never left their ship if they saw a chance of saving it. And that is not some fanatical sense of self-sacrifice. In the first place, Navy men are perfectly well aware what a ship costs the people and what responsibility they bear for its safekeeping. Second, Ship's Regulations, the law which governs the life and service of Navy men, say: "In an accident the commander of the vessel is obliged to take every measure to save his ship.... When he is sure that the ship cannot be saved, the commander makes the decision that the rest of the crew should abandon ship."

The regulations stipulate this with good reason. Because the battle to save the ship is also always a battle to save the crew.

But let us suppose that the "Komsomolets" had scarcely surfaced when the commander, without assessing the situation or taking any measures, gave a clear-text SOS message. (Incidentally, he would probably have been the first warship commander in the world to resort to that alarm signal in such a situation). And suppose that the signal had been received immediately at Bodo and that they had immediately swung into action there. According to the information at our disposal and assessing the potential of the Norwegian rescue services' manpower and resources the Sea King can be made ready in 10 minutes. If it is to be used to its full range and capacity it takes 1 hour 15 minutes to prepare it. It was 720 km from Bodo to the submarine, in other words, 3 hours 8 minutes flying time at top speed. But if the helicopter was going to fly at top speed and with a full load (what use is it without its rescue facilities) and search for the submarine its flying range would be reduced so much that it simply would not reach the submarine. But let us suppose that it reaches the scene of the accident even after the estimated 4 hours 23 minutes (not within 2.5 hours!). Then it has to winch people up. In theory it takes at least 3-5 minutes hoisting one man up. That is, when the helicopter lowers its ladder and the rescued man climbs quickly up it. But if you have to hoist an exhausted man out of the water you have to lower a diver who would fit the man with a life belt to which he would attach a snap link rope. Then the diver has to move on to another man and begin all over again. Here, too, the helicopter would not have enough fuel for work with the ladder either. It simply would not be able to reach the refueling ship.

And that is to view the situation in ideal conditions. As world practice shows, the use of helicopters at sea over such great distances is a very complex matter, particularly

in dense low cloud. The likelihood that the helicopter itself will be lost itself is greater than the possibility of finding a target as small on the radar screen as a submarine.

After quickly studying the Sea King's full potential in its various modes of operation we immediately concluded that in this situation Norway simply couldn't help the submarine.

[Bystrov] The rejection of possible help from the Norwegians, some of our readers still believe now, was due to the fleet command's desire to prevent the top secret nature of the "Komsomolets" from becoming known. How real is that?

[Chernavin] Neither the illustration in STERN which was reprinted in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, the illustration from AFTENPOSTEN which appeared in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, nor the tactical and technical characteristics cited there, have anything to do with the stricken submarine. If those Western publications had studied JANE'S directory more closely, on page 554 they could have found what they needed: a photograph of the "Komsomolets" ("Mike," according to its NATO classification), and its data. It is all quite accurately described there apart from the number of reactors: The "Komsomolets" has one reactor, not two. The displacement, crew size, and speed are somewhat exaggerated. As JANE'S points out, this particular submarine is the only one of its kind in the USSR Navy. It cannot be the largest in the world because the largest submarines have a displacement of 20,000 tonnes whereas the "Komsomolets" has a displacement of just 5,700 tonnes. And our fastest submarine is a completely different one. Therefore, this reprint has merely extended the range of people who have been misinformed.

[Bystrov] But could correspondents at the Main Staff or the state commission's press center have received the necessary information about the "Komsomolets"?

[Chernavin] I haven't heard anybody put such a request to us. But we would of course have reported the general information. There is nothing special to hide here. The submarine was designed back in the sixties and was a long time under construction. It has one special feature: It has a reinforced titanium hull enabling it to dive to a depth of 1,000 meters. In view of that it was planned that at great depths the ballast tanks would be blown not using compressed air, which is less efficient there, but using special powder charges [porokhovaya petarda] situated outside the reinforced hull.

[Bystrov] As the commission carries out its work, of course, the picture of the accident will become clearer all the time. I realize that it is too soon to draw any final conclusions. But nevertheless, what is the most likely scenario of the event?

[Chernavin] A tragic concatenation of rare circumstances occurred on the submarine which required conflicting methods to save the ship. I have already mentioned that the fire required the sealing off of one compartment, but the rupturing of the main high pressure pipe and the air filling the compartment meant that it had to be unsealed. There was a third factor: The short circuit in the power network caused a large number of small fires virtually throughout the submarine. In other words, certain instruments failed to withstand the tremendous surge of current before the safety system could operate even in those places where one existed. All of this cost several minutes. The situation was aggravated by a leak in the ship's special fixed breathing system (ShDA) [expansion unknown] intended for lengthy use by the crew in compartments filled with gas and combustion products. And the people who plugged into the ShDA were poisoned. (The OGONEK author confused this system with the IDA [individual breathing system] which is transportable).

In the no 7 compartment they managed to shut down many electrical devices such as the electrical indicators for the rudders because the submarine was surfacing with jammed rudders. And immediately the instrument for that circuit in the control room began to emit smoke.

The final three compartments on this submarine contained the turbine oil. And that oil presents a heightened risk of fire and explosion. At high temperature it evaporates and can be detonated by any spark. That is possibly what happened in the no 5 compartment. People emerged from there scorched, their breathing masks melted. Only Lieutenant Captain S. Dvorov, who worked stooping, avoided the effect of the fire storm raging down in the compartment.

Submarines are usually designed in such a way that when on the surface they do not lose their stability or buoyancy if one compartment and two adjacent ballast tanks fill with water. If two adjacent compartments are flooded any submarine will sink. Clearly, on the "Komsomolets" the water entered the two end compartments which were ablaze.

But the commander, like the specialists on shore, was confident that the fire could be localized. It was, of course, incredibly difficult to anticipate the development of a situation which you have never met before. Usually, even in difficult fires a compartment fire burns itself out and then, if necessary, the compartment is opened and ventilated.... But this time, apparently, the temperature of the fire was too great. Even things which do not usually burn caught fire.

[Bystrov] Nevertheless, until the submarine suffered a seal failure the burning compartments presented no danger to the maintenance of buoyancy. What happened to the reinforced hull?

[Chernavin] In the end compartment there are many outlet ducts through which electrical cables pass. When a cable catches fire water pours into the duct. In addition, mechanisms undergo mechanical deformation in a fire. If that results in the failure of their seals water can get in.

[Bystrov] Of course, only an examination of the submarine can give a complete answer to the question of the cause and course of the accident. Vice Admiral S. Vargin, a member of the military council and chief of the Northern Fleet Political Directorate, said in an interview on the "Vremya" program that the matter of raising the submarine is being considered. That has generated various rumors. Some people think that this is fantasy, but Vaiz Yunisov, for example, has accused Vargin of insincerity. It is allegedly not to discover the cause of the accident that the submarine is to be raised but once more to preserve secrecy.

[Chernavin] You can see how even the most well-considered comments are greeted. Therefore, you can understand our caution in releasing information: nothing unchecked, nothing dubious. Incidentally, Sergey Pavlovich Vargin was not improvising here. The feasibility of raising the submarine was considered immediately. But clearly a categorical answer will not be given until later.

First of all we are now taking every measure to examine the scene where the "Komsomolets" sank, to find it, and to assess its condition. Then it will be possible to talk with some certainty about the prospects for raising it.

Recently it was reported on the "Vremya" program that the USSR Academy of Sciences had also decided to take part in the expedition and is sending its own ship, equipped with deep water apparatuses, to the scene of the accident. This is at our request. Back in the north, when we were preparing a plan to find and inspect the submarine we sought to use every means at the country's disposal. Aware that the Academy of Sciences has a scientific research ship, the "Akademik Mstislav Keldysh" fitted with "Mir-1" and "Mir-2" deep-sea equipment (with a diving depth of 6,000 meters), we asked them to allocate it to us. The "Akademik Mstislav Keldysh" will work with three naval vessels. They are the hydrographic ship "Persey" which has been used to investigate various sites at great depths, the Black Sea fleet's rescue ship "Mikhail Rudnitskiy," which has search and exploration equipment, and the rescue ship "Georgiy Titov," with two "Pisces" manned submersibles which have a diving depth of 2,000 meters.

The submarine came to rest on the slope of an underwater ridge with a drop of 1,000-1,500 meters. But where exactly is it? There are deep canyons down there and areas of mud deposits 20 meters thick. Specialists believe that the submarine's final speed of descent was very high: around 100 kilometers per hour. Did it remain intact when it hit the bottom?

There are no means in the world today capable of raising that ship. America's "Challenger," which was built for such purposes, only brought up individual fragments of ships from great depths. Foreign firms are stating that they are ready to take part in lifting the ship. The Norwegians, in particular, are proposing to support it with a special cradle and cables so as to tow it to a shallower place. Interesting suggestions have been received from Soviet specialists and nonspecialists. We are grateful to everyone who is willing to help us but, I repeat, first it is necessary to establish the location and condition of the "Komsomolets."

The most promising method may be to lift the submarine using a special ship equipped with purpose-built lifting gear. At the moment such a vessel does not exist. It must be created. But it will work successfully only if it can maintain position over the sunken submarine with a high degree of precision. That is, it will need a large number of propulsion steering devices attached to a computer complex which would automatically determine the location of the submarine by reference to satellite information [po kosmosu]. The problems are great. But they can be resolved. The level of our scientific and technical development enables us to do that.

The "Komsomolets" tragedy emphasizes once again the need to revise the approaches to the solution of the problem of rescuing people at sea in general. All existing Soviet and foreign experience will be used. This work will be conducted vigorously. It will include efforts to considerably improve the reliability of equipment, measures to actively ensure safety of voyages, and other matters.

[Bystrov] Work to examine the ship will begin before the second half of May. Under an agreement with you, our correspondent, who is already going to sea, will keep the public informed on the progress of this work. But if the need arises to return to the theme of what has happened to the nuclear-powered submarine "Komsomolets," I hope that we can continue this conversation.

[Chernavin] Definitely. And in conclusion let me say that the submariners who were rescued are feeling well and are undergoing the necessary period of rehabilitation.

Official on Search Mission

LD1205112389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 12 May 89 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Captain 1st Class A. Zakharov, chief of the Northern Fleet Search and Rescue Service, by unnamed own correspondent: "Location of Sunken Submarine"; date and place of interview not given, first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] A group of ships is setting off for the area of the Norwegian Sea in which the Soviet submarine "Komsomolets" sank to establish and monitor its exact location.

A KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent met with Captain 1st Class A. Zakharov, chief of the Northern Fleet Search and Rescue Service, and asked him to answer some questions.

[Zakharov] The group includes the Northern Fleet rescue ship "Georgiy Titov," the Black Sea Fleet rescue ship "Mikhail Rudnitskiy," the hydrographic vessel "Persey" from the Leningrad Naval Base, and the USSR Academy of Sciences' scientific research vessel "Akademik Mstislav Keldysh." The group of ships is headed by Rear Admiral Yuriy Ivanovich Boyarkin.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Anatoliy Vladimirovich, what specific tasks await this very representative flotilla of special vessels?

[Zakharov] Each ship has its own mission determined by the nature of its special equipment. The hydrographic vessel "Persey" should arrive first in the area where the submarine sank. It will mark the search area and define its boundaries. It will then start looking for the boat using its on-board equipment. This will take a few days, depending on the weather.

Unmanned submersibles from the rescue ship "Georgiy Titov" will then be brought into action. If contact is established attempts will be made to photograph the contact object. After this the submersibles will research and investigate the contacts. As soon as the submarine is located it will be investigated and photographed by manned submersibles. The command center will analyze the vessel's condition and, if there is sufficient data available, will draw conclusions about the possible reasons why it sank.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] You mentioned manned submersibles. What are they, and on which ship are they carried?

[Zakharov] Two "Pisces" manned submersibles (able to dive up to 2,000 meters) will be carried aboard the rescue ship "Georgiy Titov". They were originally acquired from abroad for research purposes. They will be shipped from Kaliningrad by transport aircraft. There are also two manned submersibles aboard the "Akademik Mstislav Keldysh"—the "Mir 1," with a diving depth of up to 6,000 meters, and the "Mir 2." The "Poisk 2" submersible is carried aboard the rescue ship "Mikhail Rudnitskiy." The submersibles all have three-man crews.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Will some kind of steps now be taken to raise the sunken submarine?

[Zakharov] As has already been reported in the press, the equipment to carry out such a complex operation does not exist either in this country or abroad. I can only say that the results obtained will be comprehensively analyzed and a final decision on this matter made on that basis.

First Army Unit From Mongolia Arrives in USSR
*LD1605113389 Moscow TASS in English 1046 GMT
16 May 89*

["First Soviet Military Units Arrive From Mongolia"—TASS headline]

[Text] Naushki, Buryat Autonomous Republic May 16
TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Sotnikov:

The first unit of Soviet troops arrived in the [word indistinct] Transbaykal railway station of Naushki from Mongolia today after covering more than 600 kilometers.

The USSR began a partial withdrawal of its troops from that Asian country yesterday.

Residents of this settlement and the ancient Siberian town of Kyakhta gathered on railway square to welcome the servicemen.

Living quarters, camp kitchens and a field bakery have been prepared for the arriving troops.

All in all, more than a quarter of all troops subject to withdrawal will return to the Soviet Union by the year's end.

Yazov, Zaykov, Chebrikov Mark Military Anniversary
*LD1605164289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 16 May 89*

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has congratulated political bodies, party organizations, commanders, political workers, and all Communists of the Soviet Army and Navy on the 70th anniversary of the political administration of the republic's Revolutionary Military Council. The CPSU Central Committee has expressed the conviction that political workers will continue to be a reliable militant detachment of the Leninist party, and a vanguard of Soviet servicemen in fulfilling their patriotic and internationalist duty in the name of defending the socialist homeland, and preserving and strengthening peace on earth.

The message was read out by Army General Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, at a gala meeting of representatives of Moscow's working people and servicemen of the capital's garrison dedicated to the anniversary.

Comrades Zakov, Chebrikov, and Yazov, military chiefs, war and labor veterans were in the presidium. Army General Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, addressed those present.

'Mriya' To Be Exhibited at Le Bourget Air Show
LD1405201389 Moscow World Service in English
1500 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] The Soviet Union will show an unprecedented number of aircraft at the traditional aviation salon due to open next month in the suburb of Paris, Le Bourget.

Aircraft experts and spectators will see in action the Soviet jumbo plane AN-225 called "Mriya," which in Ukrainian means dream. The plane has already set over 100 world records in airlifting. Its fuselage can accommodate a reusable spacecraft. Along with civilian planes, the Soviet Union will show a number of military aircraft, for one the latest military helicopter, MI-28, fighter-interceptors, and bombers.

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